

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

PhD Thesis

**THE NATURE AND UTILISATION OF THE STOCK OF SOCIAL CAPITAL
AMONG THE YOUNG IN SELECTED AREAS IN THE WESTERN CAPE
PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA**

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Student's response to the examiners comments:

1. The student changed the title of the research.
2. The literature review was deepened with more recent literature.
3. A conceptual framework for the analysis of the findings incorporated: Woolcock and Narayan (2000) – 4 perspectives of social capital.
4. An hypothesis was provided: The public sector is a key contributor to the significant stock of social capital among the youth in the Western Cape Province
5. The research approach changed from an exploratory study to a descriptive one, as the hypothesis is descriptive of the nature and utilisation of social capital among the youth.
6. Background information on youth policy which informs implementation was provided.
7. The student conducted the pilot discussion groups and the questionnaire pilot herself.
8. Gender is reflected in the study.
9. Community profiles attached as Annexure C.
10. The critique of the concept social capital was expounded.

11. All the chapters were strengthened: Chapter 2, more depth into the concept, social capital and detailed framework. Chapter 4, analysis deepened and linked to literature. Chapter 5, expounded.

12. This study adds to new knowledge, as follows:

- (i) The study further defines bonding social capital: familial bonding social capital and agapéian social capital.
- (ii) The literature review evidenced a lack of internal social capital which the student has incorporated.
- (iii) The public sector, youth and social capital in this multidimensional study has not been researched in South Africa. There are single issue studies whether health or education outcomes.
- (iv) This study focused on poor areas incorporating nodal and non-nodal areas.
- (v) The study is also based on a large quantitative data set of 9 932.
- (vi) The study offers the public sector guidelines to address its gaps and improve its programmes intended for youth.

ABSTRACT

The nature and utilisation of the stock of social capital among the youth in selected areas in the Western Cape Province, South Africa

The backdrop of this research is the developmental state which requires government to make interventions. These interventions and programmes have to take into account the constitutional dispensation of the human rights culture which requires consultation and a responsive government in respect of the poor and vulnerable.

The researcher selected to embark on a descriptive research journey using the quantitative approach to engage the concept of social capital, the youth and the public sector. The researcher used the 3 types of social capital, bonding, bridging and linking to assess the stock of youth social capital. The hypothesis posited is that the public sector is a key contributor to the significant stock of social capital among the youth in the Western Cape.

The researcher will respond to the following research question: what is the nature and utilisation of social capital among youth in the following six geographical areas of the Western Cape: Khayelitsha, Manenberg, Gugulethu, Mitchell's Plain, Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn?

A survey using a questionnaire was conducted with 9 932 youth between the ages of 15 to 25 years. The researcher used two sample methods for the selection of the respondents, namely the snowball and snake-root techniques and surveyed the youth using a questionnaire, in the 6 selected areas, 3 nodal and 3 non-nodal areas. Discussion groups were used to inform the questionnaire with youth-friendly language. The framework the researcher used for the analysis for the data collected was the Woolcock and Narayan (2001) four perspectives of social capital: Communitarian, Network, Institutional and Synergy perspective.

The researcher found that whilst there was a good measure of familial bonding social capital and agapéian bonding social capital in these communities listed above, the findings yielded the following information: Mitchell's Plain demonstrated high ratings of bonding and moderate rating for bridging social capital whilst Beaufort West had the highest rating of the areas in terms of linking social capital. Beaufort West also, in terms of the indicators to measure social capital: institutional effectiveness, membership and participation, norms of reciprocity and trust, and collective action yielded higher scores than the other areas.

In summary, the hypothesis above is disproved as there were insufficient stocks of social capital to make a meaningful difference in advancing the development of youth in poor communities.

VIRGINIA LENORE PETERSEN

30 November 2015

ACRONYMS

ABCD	Asset Based Community Development
ANC	African National Congress
BBM	Black Berry Messaging
CAS	Cape Area Study
CSSR	Centre for Social Science Research
CV	Curriculum Vitae
CYT	Certificate for Youth Trainers program
DSD	Department of Social Development
DSSPA	Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation
ECD	Early Childhood Development
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
FAS	Foetal Alcohol Syndrome
FBO	Faith Based Organizations
GCIS	Government Communications and Information Service
GDS	Growth and Development Summit
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ISRDP	Integrated Strategic Rural Development Programme
LRC	Learner Representative Council
MMS	Multi Message System
NDP	National Development Plan 2030
Nedlac	National Economic Development and Labour Council

NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPO	Not for Profit Organisation
NYDA	National Youth Development Agency
NYP	National Youth Policy
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCAS	Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services
PDC	Provincial Development Council
PGWC	Provincial Government: Western Cape
SCI	The World Bank Social Capital Initiative
SMS	Short Message system
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
STATSSA	Statistics South Africa
URDR	Unit for Religious Demographic Research
URP	Urban Renewal Programme
UCT	University of Cape Town
US	University of Stellenbosch
UWC	University of the Western Cape

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Chapter 1: Research Overview

1.1 Introduction

This research focuses on the nature and the utilisation of the stock of social capital among the youth in selected areas of the Western Cape Province, South Africa. The study is derived from a lack of substantial factual evidence about youth structures, formal and informal, and institutions working with youth. The researcher will test the hypothesis: The public sector is a key contributor to the significant stock of social capital among the youth in the Western Cape Province. This descriptive study will seek to respond to the above hypothesis and analyse the impact of the social capital stock on youth development in six selected geographical areas. The six selected areas are classified as nodal and non-nodal. Mr. Thabo Mbeki, the former President, in his state of the nation address in 1999, declared nodal areas. Indicators for nodal areas were high contact crime, unemployment, infrastructure backlogs and informal housing settlements. The focus of the Integrated Strategic Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) and Urban Renewal Programme (URP) was poverty alleviation in urban and rural areas that have substantial service delivery backlogs, that are spatially and economically marginalised from the core urban economies, and in which social exclusion continues to limit the development of their communities particularly the youth (The Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2006).

South African youth held a special prominence in the country's transition from apartheid to democracy as a result of their leadership and activism during the struggle for freedom. Youth activated their contribution through organised youth formations, examples being youth leagues and brigades of various political movements. Organised youth intensified their social activism to a more militant response during the 1976 Soweto youth uprisings as a result of revolt against school tuition in Afrikaans, the language of the Apartheid Government. This proud history of youth in South Africa is well documented.

The then President Nelson Mandela in his inauguration speech in May 1994 said "Youth are the valued possession of the Nation. Without them there can be no future. Their needs are immense and urgent. They are the centre of reconstruction and development" (Presidency, 1994).

Despite this commitment and a myriad of legislation, policies and structures a large shift has happened, youth challenges clouded community perception and they were being considered to be

a problem by being reduced to followers, demonstrating a lack of social activism, leadership and growing apathy (Jobson, 2011).

This study will seek to deepen empirical explanation whether awareness, access and utilisation to public sector interventions and programmes increases youths' social capital on a primary level and whether youth of disadvantaged black communities experience social capital on a secondary level. It is important to trace the path of government's response from policy to legislation, to institutions, structures and programmes to promote youth development. The nature and utilisation of social capital would require responsive public sector programmes. A particular focus will also highlight how the public sector generates internal social capital through the implementation of its own intervention strategy aimed at meaningful youth development.

According to the World Bank (2003), "social capital refers to the institutions, relationships and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions". Woolcock (2001:13) defines it as "the norms and networks that facilitate collective action". For the purpose of this study, the researcher uses an adaptation of the World Bank (2003) and Woolcock's (2001) definitions of social capital: "Social capital is institutions, relationships, norms and networks that shape the quality and quantity of society's social interactions and enables collective action". The researcher has chosen to use this definition because it refers to institutions and networks. It makes the connection between networks which culminate in a collective response, showing reciprocal influence of networks and institutions in the formation of social capital. In this instance, government departments and programmes operate as institutions and networks. Interactions with it could result in increasing the social capital stock if youth have access and participate to facilitate their development.

The research combines the demographic group defined as „youth“ with the theoretical and developmental concept of social capital. The researcher, through the social capital approach lens is trying to explore the impact of government's spend on youth interventions and programmes in poor communities in the Western Cape and whether it actually leads to youth development. The interventions referred to above will form the basis of the stock of social capital to be measured. The public sector interventions refer to the provincial departments' mandates for example education which provides the enabling environment for teaching and learning to take place. The stock will be derived from educational outcomes through the attendance, involvement in extra mural educational networks and the impact of the educators on the youth for their development.

1.2 Rationale and Significance of the Research

The National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) recognises that whilst "various strategies and programmes have been conceptualised, experimented with and implemented since 1994 in order to advance youth development in South Africa, the reality indicates that despite all these efforts, slow progress has been made" (The Integrated Youth Development Strategy, 2012). This recognition of slow progress of youth development, led the researcher to explore this phenomenon.

1.2.1. Rationale for undertaking the study

...because social capital is one of the pillars of the growth and development strategy of the Province, iKapa Elihlumayo.

In November 2003 the provincial government called together the business sector, public sector, civil society and organised labour to develop a growth and development strategy for the Western Cape government. The strategy was called iKapa Elihlumayo, which means „the growing Cape“ in the Xhosa language. It consisted of eight sub themes: Building human capital, social capital formation with emphasis on the youth, strategic infrastructure plan, macro-economic development strategy, spatial development framework, communication and marketing, improving financial governance and the provincialisation of municipal- rendered services. The focus of this investigation is on the second pillar of the iKapa Elihlumayo strategy – social capital formation with an emphasis on the youth. The consultative approach to the strategy demonstrated the Synergy perspective of social capital postulated as one of the four perspectives by Woolcock and Narayan (2000). The researcher will use this framework for the study to see if all the perspectives of the framework is encapsulated in the programmes presented by government.

The then Premier of the Western Cape, E. Rasool, linked the iKapa Elihlumayo strategy to the former President Mbeki's need for a social contract to be built with citizens to advance the issues of fighting poverty and creating jobs (Rasool, 2003).

The then Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation (DSSPA), now the Department of Social Development (DSD), was assigned to be the lead department to achieve the outcome of social capital formation with emphasis on the youth. One of the integral pillars of this strategy was to give effect to the provincial vision of "A Home for All". DSD also had to ensure that its work

contributed to the national agenda of fostering social cohesion and social inclusivity which continues as a golden thread in the National Development Plan (NDP, 2030, 2012).

...because of problems and challenges youth face.

The question is asked, what is at the heart of these problems and challenges youth face. Can the formation of social capital reduce these problems and challenges?

The number of youth between the ages of 14 to 35 years was 1,852,469 in the Western Cape Province as reflected in Annexure A (Census, 2001). The youth population (for the same age group) increased to 2.5 million, representing 44% of the total population as reported in the Census 2011 (STATSSA, 2014). During the aforementioned discussions at the Growth and Development Summit (GDS) in November 2003, various problems were raised in relation to the youth in the Western Cape Province, which were: high unemployment, child abuse, street children, crime, criminal gangs, alcohol and drugs, HIV/Aids and high school drop-out rates. These challenges will be discussed and presented more in depth in the detailed „situational analysis of youth challenges in the Western Cape Province“ (Annexure B).

...because the government wants to review current interventions and to find out how and where to intervene to promote the social capital strategy for the youth.

The following list presents some of the main gaps in public sector interventions for youth:

- Government's response to the plight of youth appears to be lacking.
- Low utilisation figures for programmes within the six targeted areas.
- High numbers of youth unemployment
- Higher than national average for school drop-outs and teenage pregnancy. (STATSSA, 2009)
- There is insufficient in-patient accommodation at rehabilitation centres for youth from needy communities with substance abuse problems (Social Development Annual Report, 2005).

1.3. Research Problem

The research problem which prevailed at the time was that youth, through the following structures, the Youth Commission in the Western Cape, the Western Cape Legislature, Portfolio Committee and various youth structures, expressed concern about the lack of interventions targeting the

youth, while departments in the Western Cape government annually reported progress and spending on youth projects and programmes as shown as Annexures (Annexures D, C).

1.4. Aim of study

The aim of this study is to firstly examine the usage of public sector interventions by youth and secondly, to investigate whether there is social capital stock among the youth. Particularly focusing on the adequacy of programmes directed towards the youth in the Province of the Western Cape. Based on these findings, particularly if gaps are confirmed and identified, guidelines for the public sector, will be provided to monitor and evaluate its programmes to promote the development of social capital with particular reference to youth. Out of the aim the following research questions were derived.

1.5. Research Question

What is the nature and utilisation of social capital stock among youth in the following six geographical areas of the Western Cape: Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Manenberg, Gugulethu, Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn.

Sub-questions:

1. What are the challenges youth face within certain geographical areas of the Western Cape Province?
2. What kinds of social capital exist already?
3. What processes assist youth to access and develop the stock of social capital?
4. How youth use the existing social capital stock in their areas?
5. What opportunities do youth have for personal development to become a self-reliant and participative citizen?
6. Where are the gaps in public sector programmes that require interventions for the formation of social capital?

1.6. Research Objectives

Out of the above-mentioned questions, the following research objectives could be derived:

1. To present an audit of the status of youth in the six areas.
2. To test the stock of social capital of the youth in selected areas of the Western Cape Province.

3. To identify the processes of youth engagement to access and use social capital.
4. To examine the youth utilisation patterns of existing social capital.
5. To identify gaps in the public sector interventions and programmes.
6. To design guidelines for public sector interventions and programmes focusing on social capital formation with emphasis on the youth.

1.7. Research Methodology

The third chapter of this thesis will provide an in-depth description of the research methodology and design. This section will give a brief overview of the research design, research methods and the sampling methods used for this research.

1.7.1 Research Design

The researcher will provide a detailed plan how the study is to be conducted basing her planning on the work of Thyer (1993) and Mouton (2004). To devise the research design for this thesis titled: "The nature and utilisation of the stock of social capital among the youth in selected areas of the Western Cape Province, South Africa", a quantitative social research approach will be used. Indicators will be used to measure the assets of social capital stock and its impact on the development of the youth in the six selected areas.

The researcher uses the following descriptive hypothesis for this study: The public sector is a key contributor to the significant stock of social capital among the youth in the Western Cape. This descriptive hypothesis will seek to explain the social practices and experiences of a particular group, youth in this instance. This is not a casual argument but rather an enabling environment. The researcher will expand on the use of this descriptive hypothesis in Chapter three using the work of Heiman (2002), Terre Blanche et al (2006) and Bless et al (2006).

According to De Vos (1998) the research design has the following processes that the researcher needs to consider:

Deductive Reasoning: Deductive reasoning is usually an abstract idea that requires more empirical research (Neuman, 2003:172; De Vos, 1998:330). The idea in this instance is social capital which includes dimensions and various types: bonding, bridging, particularly linking social capital. In order to test for the stock of social capital, proxy indicators will be used.

Inductive Reasoning: The researcher will describe social capital and how it is manifested in the lives of young people in the Western Cape. Themes were designed for the discussion group sessions so that social capital could be understood from the perspective of the youth. The researcher will deepen this type of reasoning using several authors (De Vos 1998, Babbie et al, 2000, Neuman, 2003).

Ontology: In this research, ontology is the description of social capital and the youth. The common purpose, understanding and a representative vocabulary was required to embark on the engagement of youth in the survey method using the questionnaire as an instrument. This was done in order to gather evidence of the existence of the different types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking. Gruber (1993) and De Vos (1998) provide the context for this process in Chapter 3.

Epistemology: The researcher is aware that individuals, groups and communities gain awareness and knowledge in different ways. This study will focus on youth awareness, participation and utilisation of the public sector interventions and programmes. It will seek to add to the body of empirical work in gaining a further understanding of social capital and the gaps or limitation in the public sector programmes earmarked for the youth (Bless et al, 2006).

1.7.2 Methodology

The researcher will endeavour to answer the research question and test the hypothesis. This value chain in the research process requires a methodology which contextualises the principles, procedures and practices which will govern this study (Marczyk et al, 2005).

1.7.2.1 Quantitative Research Approach

The choice was made by the researcher to conduct the quantitative research through a survey and for this purpose the questionnaire was developed. „Quantitative research is a formal, objective, systematic process in which numerical data was used to obtain information about the world. Quantitative research is used to describe variables, examine relationships between variables and to determine cause – and effect interactions between variables“ (Burns et al, 2005:23). Marczyk et al (2005) concurs that, quantitative research is a formal and systematic process that uses statistical analysis to obtain their findings.

The researcher used discussion groups to inform the questionnaire. The researcher chose the quantitative research approach as the context to collect data that is numerical. The numerical data for this large data set of 9932 questionnaires conducted through a formal process which used a systematic process of statistical analysis to obtain the findings (Marczyk et al, 2005).

1.7.2.2 Geographical Focus Areas

The geographical focus areas of the survey are Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Gugulethu, Manenberg, Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn.

The former President, Thabo Mbeki, declared Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha the URP node and Beaufort West (Central Karoo District) as an ISRDP node in the Western Cape Province. Gugulethu and Manenberg were used as non-nodal urban areas due to crime and poverty being present in these communities. The urban communities in Cape Town are back-to-back communities separated by race, a bridge, a railway line or a dual carriage road. Gugulethu and Manenberg are considered comparable to the selected urban nodes as a result of being two adjacent communities where Coloureds and Africans live separately. The rural comparable community was Oudtshoorn because of its proximity to Beaufort West and a similar situational analysis. The focus of the ISRDP and URP was poverty alleviation in urban and rural areas (The Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2006).

The researcher initially worked as the Head of the Department of Social Development and thereafter as the Director-General in the Premier's Department in the Western Cape Provincial Government and was continually confronted with youth poverty and was conscious of government's spend and consistently asked if the impact was being felt by poor youth in the Western Cape.

1.7.2.3 Data Collection Methods

For this research problem focusing on social capital, the nature and utilisation of social capital among the youth, discussion groups were the first information gathering method used to inform the content of the questionnaire and youth accessible language.

Discussion groups were used to inform the formulation of questions used on the survey tool. 188 Youth participated in the discussion groups. There were 98 males and 90 females in 16 group sessions.

The method of this research will be a survey using a questionnaire as the instrument for data collection. 9932 Youth between the ages of 15 to 25 years were sampled through the snowball and snake-root techniques and surveyed using a questionnaire, in the 6 selected areas, 3 nodal and 3 non-nodal areas.

1.7.2.4 Sampling

Snowball or chain reference sampling: The snowball sampling method used by the researcher is described as “One member of a group refers the researcher to others until an appropriate size of a group is reached. This method is especially used in the context of a holistic understanding of the meanings of interconnected networks” (De Vos, 1998: 254).

A youth not for profit organisation, Certificate of Youth Trainers (CYT) based in Cape Town had a database of youth from socially excluded and vulnerable areas. This database was appropriate for the discussion groups that needed to be conducted to inform the questionnaire. Beaufort West Youth Forum was also used and concentrated on the administration of the rural discussion groups. The aim of using the snowballing technique of selection was to achieve the most representative groups of youth in the discussion groups from their database consisting of networked youth and each young person brought along a friend to the group who was not involved in organised youth activities referred to as an un-networked youth.

The questionnaire was administered to a 5% sample using the Statistics South Africa Community Profile database to select the age group 15 to 25, stratified into two groups – age 15 to 19 years and 20 to 25 years Census 2001. The sample was further stratified for gender.

The population in the selected area was divided into clusters along the geographical boundaries. The results in all units within the sampled cluster were fully represented. In practical terms, for the study, each of 12 wards within Khayelitsha and six wards in Mitchell's Plain were demarcated into 10 supervisory units (SU).

The street names falling in the SU's were pooled, and randomly selected a starting point. After selection of the SU, the geographical '**snake-root**' **sample technique** (snake-root method) was used in order to find respondents corresponding to the sample drawn.

1.7.2.5 Data Analysis

The analysis of the quantitative research data was done with Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). SPSS was utilised to produce presentable tables and graphs to underline the results. Finally the results of the quantitative data were used for findings and analysis. Conclusions concerning the research problem will be posited.

1.7.2.6 Data Verification and Validity

Bryman (2012) describes four crucial elements of quantitative research, namely measurement, causality, replication and generalisability. Quantitative research allows the researcher to measure and thereby quantify the findings. Therefore, concerns around validity and reliability of measures, is important. The fieldworkers were trained and the questionnaire had been piloted before the formal survey began. The study will seek to solicit the respondent's perceptions which will be measured with a Likert Scale (Bryman, 2012).

1.8. Ethical Considerations

The provincial government of the Western Cape partially funded the research. It is therefore essential to ensure that data produced from this research, requires written permission to be given by the researcher and the Department of Social Development if media or publication requests are received. The researcher was the author of the social capital strategy for the department and during that process there was an acknowledgement in the provincial government that more research into this specific area of social capital and the youth was needed. The researcher's work towards this doctoral thesis was as a result of a mutual agreement between the then employer and the researcher as it would further assist the work in the province.

There were general ethical considerations undertaken during the process of this research study. During the gathering of information there were certain principles that related to confidentiality, informed consent and aims of the research process that participants were made aware of. Participants remained anonymous. Transparency about the research procedures was important so that participants would not be harmed at any point in the study (Whittington, 2004:509). For that reason, all participants were informed that if for any reason they wanted to withdraw from the investigation, it would be allowed without prejudice.

1.9. Structure of the thesis

The thesis follows a logical research design.

CHAPTER 1: RESEARCH OVERVIEW

This chapter builds the foundation for the research and introduces the research questions as well as the research approach to youth problems. This chapter presents the introduction of the concept of social capital as part of the provincial growth and development strategy of the Western Cape, South Africa.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter focuses on the theoretical framework and literature review. Different definitions of social capital are presented and discussed, highlighting general criticisms of the social capital approach. The framework used by the researcher will be presented, as well as the dimensions, types, indicators and levels of social capital. Various perspectives of the concept social capital will also be discussed linking socio-economic development and youth.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Chapter three focuses on the research design and the methodology applied to generate data which responds to the research questions. The quantitative approach provides an exploration of the discussion group process which led to the development of the questionnaire, the sampling approach, the fieldwork process and the process to prepare the data for the findings and analysis to be made.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The findings and the analysis of the quantitative data is presented in chapter four. The framework and the research sub-questions will be used to present the findings and analysis.

CHAPTER 5: THE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The closing chapter of the thesis will make conclusions and recommendations, including a guideline for public sector interventions and programmes.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The researcher has indicated in Chapter One that this research study will focus on youth; and more specifically, the impact of social capital as a critical resource for youth development.

The researcher plans to test the stock of social capital among youth in six poor communities in the Western Cape. A central consideration will be to look at to what extent government, in its service delivery to the youth, has contributed to the youth's stock of social capital. The study will examine the different levels, dimensions, types and indicators of social capital to discern what type or types of social capital is prevalent and what benefits youth derive from them, whether through families, neighbourhoods, communities or external sources. Particular focus will be placed on how the public sector generates internal social capital through implementing its own intervention strategy, which is aimed at meaningful youth development.

A critical external contributor towards social capital formation in communities is the public sector and this is represented by government structures, its officials and the type of interventions at different levels. The study seeks to respond to the hypothesis that the public sector is a key contributor to the significant stock of social capital among the youth in the Western Cape. The researcher posed the following research question: what is the nature and utilisation of social capital stock among the youth in the following six geographical areas of the Western Cape Province: Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Manenberg, Gugulethu, Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn? Depending on the stock disaggregated outcome, the researcher will develop guidelines to replicate interventions and programmes where good stocks exist or deactivate it if programmes had negative impact. In this way, the thesis will offer insight into how government could contribute in the future by embracing the social capital approach, so that positive changes will occur in the lives of poor youth.

The researcher will reflect on the definition and the critique of social capital because the concept is still fairly new. The researcher will also look at youth development interventions and the situational analysis of youth in the six areas.

The researcher will examine the discourse as to why this broad term, social capital, has gained a following as the missing ingredient in development. Since it bridges theoretical and disciplinary divides to some, including this researcher; social capital has become self-evident for sustainable

development, including economic development. Interventions need to be implemented that will nurture and sustain social capital in order for it to be a force for change.

The researcher's defence and promotion of the social capital approach being incorporated into development theory and strategy will be based on the framework presented by Woolcock and Narayan (2000). Woolcock (1998) explored the conditions under which social capital both helps and/or hinders development. The latter concern, of potentially hindering development, refers to various critiques of the concept which will be addressed in this chapter. These critiques will be looked at together with the conditions that help to form social capital as a resource. The balance of state-society relations for social capital to be a source of public good will also be viewed so that social capital is seen as a resource and not as a product that is dependent on the stocks of different types of social capital (Woolcock, 1998).

The sector in South Africa where development is particularly concerning is the youth. The ruling party and the government continue to grapple with the challenge of youth poverty which, if not addressed, could destabilise South Africa's democracy. The struggle that South Africa is faced with, in dealing with the youth challenge, is how to address development in an interventionist manner against the socio-economic, conflictual theories of modernisation which leads to capitalism and neo liberalism (Graaff, 2003).

South Africa has a youth dividend in terms of its population. This dividend is not experienced positively. It is commonly referred to as the "youth bulge" because of the psycho-social and economic challenges faced by the youth as discussed further in this chapter. The challenges faced by the country are poverty, inequality and unemployment, these factors are exacerbated when the youth situation in South Africa is debated and analysed (National Development Plan, 2012).

Landman (2013:19) states that there are two key obstacles blocking South Africa from achieving modernity. These are the lack of equality and social capital. He postulates that a modern, successful society cannot be built without shared values and norms recognising the large income inequalities between South Africans showcasing a Gini coefficient of 0.7.

Unemployment, poor education qualifications and low skills are a common descriptive when discussing the youth in South Africa. The new, democratic South African government has adopted the approach of a developmental state in order to address the high levels of poverty and inequality, which are rooted in its colonial past and the regulated system of apartheid. The choice of the

developmental state was a compromise position by recognising capitalism to the right and socialism to the left.

Youth played a significant role in dismantling the oppressive apartheid regime, through social activism and citizen participation in a range of formal and informal community and political structures. In the post-apartheid era, it appears that there has been a decline in this youth role in building democracy. It is recognised that under apartheid there was social capital among the youth, but it was aimed against the government. Youth social capital was demonstrated through networks consisting of civic, political and emerging social movements. There was bonding and bridging social capital and, for a few, there was linking social capital which arose from those who left the country. It could be argued that the apartheid state's arrest of youth leaders and youth followers could have contributed to the state destroying sources of social capital, a view shared by Fukuyama (2001) as characteristic of illegitimate governments. But economic development did not take place for the majority of young people. In 2015, there was a change with an emerging new wave of youth activism with various campaigns and movements such as the Rhodes Must Fall, Open Stellenbosch Movement and #FeesMustFall (News24, 2/4/2015 & 22/9/2015, Mail & Guardian, 23-29/10/2015, Pretoria News, 23/10/2015, Sowetan, 23/10/2015). In these instances, the arrests of youth leaders and youth followers demonstrated the fact that a state can destroy resources of social capital. As a result, it was felt that the state is ill-suited to promote social capital and this gave rise to the idea that society's stock of social capital is enhanced by dismantling an illegitimate government.

Putnam (2000) recommends that the state takes specific actions and mobilises networks to deal with society's indifference to government action. He further states that liberal, social capital enthusiasts regard state-society relations as a positive sum. The researcher understands this statement to mean that as the state gets stronger – endorsed and voted in by society as it is in the current democratic South Africa; institutional and community forums which hold the state accountable should not get weaker. It is therefore imperative to have a healthy co-existence between the state, through its government departments, and societal networks, forums, institutions and non-profit organisations in order to provide ties to the youth as part of the development process.

The developmental state recognises the role of government as interventionist, and leveraging off existing assets, despite it being limited in communities. These community assets are made up of relationships based on behaviours of the youth linked to institutions and networks. Mathie and

Cunningham (2003) discussed an Asset Based Community Development (ABCD¹) approach to community development as articulated by McKnight and Kretzmann (2003). The ABCD contrasts to the „needs-/problem based“ approach to community development, usually driven by external² NGOs. The authors postulate that communities can drive development processes themselves by identifying and mobilising (existing assets) and thereby responding to and creating local economic opportunities. In the South African context this need to create local economic opportunities has given impetus to the social development sector relooking its mandate to deepen its developmental strategies beyond merely community development but to include economic opportunities such as: co-operatives for women and youth (Midgley, 1995, Patel, 2005).

Therefore, this thesis on social capital as an approach to dealing with youth poverty provides a context for development. If social capital exists then the community assets together with government's interventions should lead to sustainable development. The accumulation of community assets refers to the impact of institutions, such as the Youth Commission, the National Youth Development Agency and other youth formations. The thesis attempts to measure whether youth development is advanced through institutions as well as relationships, norms and networks. The assumption is that, if public servants are committed to the values of quality service delivery, co-operation and collaboration internally their demonstrated behaviour towards the citizens, and the youth in particular, will lead to effective institutions in communities and government, should then achieve the objectives of a developmental agenda. The state, in a transformed engagement style, with other actors represents internal social capital (Petersen, 2005; Gormulia, 2006). The researcher recognises the above-mentioned elements as defining the thrust of social capital in this research study because it relates to youth and public sector interventions.

The following conceptual framework unpacks the definitions of social capital, dimensions of social capital, describes the types of social capital, approaches to social capital, the indicators for measuring the stock of social capital, a critique of social capital, a definition of youth and youth social capital, lists public sector interventions and the approaches to community and youth development in the context of the developmental state.

¹ The ABCD was developed by Jody Kretzmann and John McKnight of the Institute of Policy research at North-Western University as a response to what they understood to be the paralysis of other community development efforts driven by external NGOs.

² External – meaning outside the local community – maybe national or internationally and receives donor funding

2.2 The Framework for this Research Study

The researcher prefers to use Woolcock and Narayan's (2000) conceptual framework of social capital to guide the analysis of this research. The framework consists of four perspectives of social capital: the Communitarian view, Networks view, Institutional view and the Synergy view (2000).

The researcher is also upfront and clear that social capital is a resource not an outcome (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Woolcock, 1998; Fukuyama, 1999; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000; Harper, 2001; Scull, 2001; Pope, 2003). The researcher further contends that, if communities, and particularly the youth, have strong resources of social capital they will be able to confront poverty and vulnerability which will then lead to development.

2.2.1 Definitions of Social Capital

Social capital has brought about a variety of definitions in academic debate and has been used extensively in various disciplines. Social capital cuts across disciplines and each discipline has seemingly interpreted the dimensions and constructs of the concept to suit their work. The multiple uses of the term have led to theoretical confusion.

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) looked at opportunities that could be derived from social capital in terms of the economic benefits to reduce poverty and inequality. The definition they posit is "social capital refers to the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively" (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 226). The researcher's definition, which finds its origins in the World Bank (2003) and Woolcock (2001), has a close bearing to the Woolcock and Narayan definition. The definition for this research is *social capital is institutions, relationships, norms and networks that shape the quality and quantity of society's social interactions and enables collective action.*

Many authors raised issues specifically concerning the definition of social capital (Woolcock, 1998; 2000; 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000; Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2001; Harper, 2001; Scull, 2001; Stone, 2001; Hopkins, 2002; Stone & Hughes, 2002; Productivity Commission, 2003; Schaefer - McDaniel, 2004; Enfield, 2008; Holland, 2008; Andrews, 2011; Billett, 2011).

Woolcock (2000), in a web article posted by the Canadian Policy Research Institute, noted that a West Virginian school superintendent, Lyda Hanifan, was one of the first people to use the term social capital in 1916. Social capital was defined by her as "those tangible substances [that] count for most in the daily lives of people: namely goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit if [an individual comes] into contact with his neighbour, and they with other neighbours, there will be an accumulation of social

capital, which may immediately satisfy his social needs and which may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community” (Woolcock, 2000:228).

The term disappeared from academia and reappeared in the 1980s through the seminal works of three authors Bourdieu (1985), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993) (Woolcock, 2000; Scull, 2001; Hopkins, 2002; Dahal & Adhikari, 2008).

Bourdieu (1986:248) defined social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition, or, in other words, membership in a group”. The use of the word "aggregate" in this definition led the researcher to assess the stock of social capital. The stock of social capital refers to public sector interventions (internal social capital), as well as community institutions and networks (external social capital) and whether these interventions enable youth development. The resources available to youth are the institutions, relationships and/or networks which will result from government facilitated interventions and could lead an individual in association with others to collective action to improve the conditions for youth in communities.

In 1988, Coleman (1988:98) defined social capital as “a variety of entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure. Unlike other forms of capital, social capital inheres in the structure of the relations between persons and among persons. It is lodged neither in individuals nor in physical implements of production.” Coleman (1988), in contrast to Bourdieu (1986), emphasised the importance of human relations for social capital to work. Bourdieu (1986) saw the group as the key structure for social capital whereas Coleman leaves room for individuals to build social capital through relating to others.

Putman (2000) thereafter defined social capital according to social structures and social associations. According to Putnam (1993:167) “social capital [here] refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions.” An extensive stock of social capital is evident where voluntary co-operation in communities exists. For Putnam (1993) the significance of social capital is that social networks have value. The productivity of individuals and groups is caused by social leveraging that

requires trust. This definition focuses on the added value of social networks and associations to groups, if these groups function on the basis of defined norms and values.

In summarising the contributions of these foundational authors of social capital, the researcher makes the following observations: Bourdieu (1986) posits social capital as cultural, economic and social assets as a result of access to „*resources*“. The individual accrues opportunities and benefits from a wide range of „*institutional relationships*“. He further proposes two dimensions, „*social networks*“ and „*sociability*“. He also explores „*social inequality*“ and the fact that the sustainability of relationships is dependent on utilisation and maintenance.

Coleman (1988) pursues a systems approach to social capital. He refers to networks as „*social structures*“ inside (family) and outside (school) for the development of individual human capital which contributes to the public good of the group. He raises the aspect of providing resources to others through relationships with individuals. Coleman (1990) relates his definition of social capital in his later work to its function. In his explanation of family and the school group relationships, he establishes norms, rules, expectations and obligations of trust which lead to reciprocity.

Putnam (2000) extends the asset acquisition beyond Bourdieu's (1986) individual and Coleman's (1988) group to a community as a result of “co-ordinated actions”. This deepens Coleman's (1988) group benefit (common asset) to enable benefits to the entire community. Putnam (2000) recognises the value of close communities having higher levels of social capital. Putnam (2000) recognised that an “engaged citizenry” correlates favourably with an effective government to reduce challenges and enhance development. He also expanded his theory to include the term „*generalised reciprocity*“ and „*thick trust*“ (2000). These three authors despite their varied approaches, all agree on social capital being a resource to collective action with the following outcomes; economic well-being, democracy and human capital. The researcher bases the study on social capital as a resource.

The researcher intends to use this value chain of social capital from individual to community assets by aggregating the stock that youth have in terms of the quality and quantity of institutions, relationships, norms and networks which enable communal collective action for development.

Whilst the three, contemporary authors on social capital, mentioned above, form the basis for social capital research which followed thereafter; the researcher, in exploring the literature, found that more recently scientists have broadened the concept of social capital and have assisted

specifically in operationalising the concept through connecting the term social capital to other fields of study.

In further developing the concept of social capital there was a shift towards social capital as an instrument and at the same time as an asset for societies for socio-economic development. Global players and agencies such as the World Bank included the approach in their concepts and working approaches.

World Bank's (2003) definition of social capital emphasises the influence of social capital on development. "Social capital refers to the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions. Increasing evidence shows that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together" (World Bank, 2003, <http://web.worldbank.org/>).

Landman (2013) supports the World Bank's glue analogy in his definition of social capital. "Social capital is the name given to the relationship and networks that connect us to other people. It is born from shared values and commonly accepted rules of behaviour which form a bond, an unspoken understanding. We trust people who share our values. This is what creates a sense of society and what enables us to live together reasonably harmoniously – it is the glue that binds us." (Landman, 2013:151). He also emphasises shared values and commonly accepted rules of behaviour which he acknowledges builds trust enabling reciprocity (Landman, 2013).

These two definitions amplify the need for social capital to ensure that economic growth has an impact on sustainable development. Landman (2013) further contextualises social capital by looking at education. He says that in order to have better employment rates we can look at the education spend in South Africa which is significant. In his view, it is not only money that will create the skilled work force; it is also dependent on the educators, school management and the learners' behaviour. The latter, which focuses on the internal social capital approach which Landman (2013), incorporates as state resources, educators and school management as all having an impact on social capital's contribution to ensure growth and development.

Social capital is an evolving concept. It places emphasis on the quality of relationships built between and within groups of people. In reviewing the above-mentioned definitions, social capital can be understood as the connectedness between people that enables mutual benefit and collective action. It is the wealth that common values give to a social group or network. Social

capital is the amount and quality of the interactions of a group that brings about collective change. It is the sense of giving and receiving. Inclusively, social capital is a drive that brings about change which could be positive or negative. It is crucial to look at different types of social capital as well as terms such as institutions, relationships, collective actions, trust, reciprocity, social norms, social cohesion and networks, in order to understand the definition of social capital used by the researcher in this thesis. These terms will be explored below as types and dimensions of social capital.

2.2.2 Types of social capital

Social capital is a broad concept and is furthered, in practice, to show evidence of its impact through different types of social capital.

Gittell and Vidal (1998:14), Woolcock (1998:175-180), Holland (2008:12) and Enfield (2008:7) differentiate between different types of social capital namely bonding, bridging and linking. Enfield (2008) credits the following theorists with the first uses of these terms in formal publications, Gittell and Vidal (1998) for *bonding social capital*, Putnam (2000) coined the term *bridging social capital* and Woolcock (1998) is credited with *linking social capital*. These terms are further elaborated on by the researcher.

Bonding social capital is inward looking and refers to a tendency to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups. It therefore refers to networks that are primarily restricted to those between people that are alike and in excess can result in exclusion of the other. Putnam (2000:22) says that bonding social capital is “good for undergirding reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity”. It provides crucial social capital and psychological support to needy members to “get by” in life. Granovetter (1982) refers to these bonds as „*strong ties*” within a horizontal network including family, close friends and neighbours (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer, 2001; Scull, 2001; Hopkins, 2002; Stone & Hughes, 2002; Holland, 2008).

Bridging social capital is more outward looking and brings people together across different social divides. Bridging focuses on intra-community relationships (weaker ties) which are seen as an important way to support individuals and communities. Good networks in a community, but also with other communities help to counter and minimise the negative aspects of bonding social capital which is inward looking and at times excluding. Bridging social capital is also more sustainable in poor communities, because poor families’ resources are found to suffer fatigue or become exhausted. The heterogeneity and diversity of network members and participants promote bridging

social capital or '*getting ahead*' as reflected by several authors (Harper, 2001; Scull, 2001; Putnam, 2000; Stone & Hughes, 2002; Adhikari, 2008; Derose, 2008).

Woolcock (1998) in his work on social capital networks identifies a third type of social capital, namely linking social capital. This is the vertical dimension of social capital; it seeks to forge alliances. This form of social capital often constitutes relations towards organisations and institutions. It also refers to the type of social capital that is generated by governments and institutions to improve trust between government and society at large and to prevent the marginalisation of specific groups.

Woolcock and Sweetser (in Dahal & Adhikari, 2008) conclude that linking social capital pertains to connections with people in power, whether they are politically or financially influential (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer, 2001; Harper, 2001; Scull, 2001; Dahal & Adhikari, 2008; Enfield & Nathaniel, 2013). This relationship with government i.e. public sector departments and its officials and the youth is the linking social capital. Bad, inaccessible service as a result of a lack of collaboration within government is a barrier to the formation of bridging and linking social capital.

The researcher would like to indicate that the different types of social capital result in a variety of impacts for the youth. Bonding social capital provides young people with a sense of belonging, dependence on family support, a safety net in times of need, undue hardship or a crisis. This type of social capital characterises good family ties and strong friendship bonds. The bridging social capital offers young people the opportunity to explore relationships outside their immediate environment and adds through that to social cohesion in our society. Linking social capital is most visible through education in the lives of young people. School, but also other education opportunities are the vertical networks for many young people with the state within the context of both the networks and institutional perspectives.

2.2.3 Dimensions of Social Capital

The dimensions and/or components of social capital cover, in many instances, a varied number of elements. These dimensions would be selected by a researcher to match what the researcher wants to contribute in terms of empirical evidence. The anchor dimensions of social capital in the literature are networks, trust and social norms (Coleman, 1994; Putnam, 1995a, 2000; Stone, 2001). Several authors have added further dimensions, for example, Bourdieu (1986) added class

and culture. However this creates confusion and should rather be factors that impact on social capital as opposed to being recognised as dimensions of social capital.

Narayan and Cassidy (2001) identified seven dimensions: generalised norms, trust, social interaction or sociability, togetherness, group involvement and affiliation, volunteerism and neighbourhood connections.

Harpham et al (2006), in her work with children, deconstructs social capital into the following aspects of social capital: participation in formal and informal organisations, the information, emotional and instrumental support from the networks, perceived trust and reciprocity and shared norms. Her focus is mainly on bonding social capital. She is critical when measuring children's social capital because it cannot just be an outcome based on the adults' perspective but has to acknowledge social capital as a resource for the child, as „*their agency*“.

Onyx & Bullen (2000) cites five dimensions of social capital as including: neighbourhood connections, connections with family and friends, tolerance of diversity, value of life and work connections.

The World Bank (2013) also contributes five key dimensions of social capital: groups and networks, trust and solidarity, collective action and co-operation, social cohesion and information and communication. The World Bank later added a sixth dimension, the empowerment and political action domain (2013).

The researcher aligns herself with the core elements posited by the World Bank as demonstrated in the definition used in this research.

It becomes clear that if a researcher wants to do an empirical study, it is important to separate social capital from its outcomes before it can be broken down into its constructs.

From the above it is easy to see how the dimensions linked to the types of social capital create confusion in academia as some theorists add to dimensions whilst other theorists see some of the elements as indicators or proxy indicators.

The researcher aims to focus on the elements of the definition presented in this study: institutions, relationships, norms, networks, social interactions and collective action as the key resource informants for social capital. These will be linked to indicators of the three types of social capital to facilitate a more reliable measurement of the stock of social capital against the backdrop of the framework approaches of Woolcock and Narayan (2000).

Grootaert and van Bastelaer (2001) contend that institutions are vital as a dimension of social capital. These institutions, in the social and political environment, shape social structures and enable norms to develop. Formal institutions should be responsive and accountable to needs of the poor. They further assert that macro-level institutions and structures such as a political regime, the government and the justice system provide the enabling environment for communities to flourish through local associations. The complementarity and co-existence of these institutions maximises the impact of social capital on economic levels and social outcomes.

Smith and Kulynych (2002:2) and Bourdieu (1986) both referred to relationships being a dimension of social capital. These two authors asserted that benefits are associated with the participation in social relationships. Bourdieu (1986) went further in describing relationships that arise from a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships between members and mutual acquaintances going beyond family, friends and neighbours. The social capital resource is the relationship between two parties but could also be a beneficial asset to a group or community.

Another variable that determines social capital is social norms. These are the basis for trustworthy behaviour and the creation of trust. Social norms vary, in contrast to trust and reciprocity, in different locations, contexts and societies. They are strongly context bound. Social norms indicate patterns of behaviour amongst a circle of people which is then accepted as normal and to which members are expected to conform. Within the social capital definition, these social norms are important for the development of the networks and relationships which determine social capital (Uslaner, 2002).

As discussed above, networks are the essence of social capital. Networks refer to the interconnectedness of systems or people (Oxford Dictionary, 2007). The networks referred to in the social capital approach refer to relationships based on human interactions and/or human interactions in respect of institutions and organisations. The base argument is that any type of network, in the social capital definition, is based on people interacting with each other. Bonding social capital refers to the relations among people. It is the relations that create a connectedness among people of a homogenous group. Most scientists would attribute the word „social networks“ to social capital. The definition of social networks is based on relations that are characterised by certain human interdependencies such as friendship, kinship, familial common interest, exchange of goods and services, inter-personal relations, familiarity, class, and work environments“ knowledge.

Social interactions according to Coleman (1987), provides an understanding of the engagement style: it is a vehicle to sustain and maintain networks. The frequency of the interaction and the

degree of formality is important. Social interactions take place at a peer group level providing active social support. These interactions could also determine the depth and social cohesion of a community. Social capital would not thrive in an atmosphere of aggressive and/or hostile interactions. Some studies have focused on the quantity of the interactions but this does not really provide an understanding of the benefits derived according to Schaefer-McDaniel (2004). Woolcock (1998) stresses that social relations, are an essential component in dealing with dynamic, organisational and community dilemmas requiring negotiations and co-ordination for successful interventions.

Grootaert and van Bastelaer (2001) state that in the provision of many services, collective action is required by a group of individuals. Enfield (2008) raises the importance of social capital as a „predictor“ of community action. Falk and Kilpatrick (2000:89) see collective action as “an accumulation of the knowledge and identity resources drawn on by communities of common purpose”. Social capital is both an input into and an output of mutually beneficial collective action. The extent to which collective action occurs can be measured by the indicator, social cohesion (Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2001).

Uphoff and Wijayaratna (2000) added to the social capital debate by defining social capital across the span of social capital from structural manifestations to cognitive aspects. Structural social capital facilitates mutually beneficial collective action through established roles and social networks supplemented by rules, procedures and precedents (Hitt, Yucel & Lee, 2002). Cognitive social capital includes shared norms, values, attitudes and beliefs, predisposes people towards mutually beneficial collective action (Krishna, 2002). Cognitive and structural forms of social capital are commonly connected and mutually reinforcing (Uphoff & Wijayaratna, 2000).

Woolcock (1998) in his work towards the framework explained two concepts: embeddedness and autonomy in linking social capital to development. He, together with Granovetter (1995) postulated that all types of exchanges in real life represent economic and social exchanges which have value. The embeddedness refers to personal ties or networks. Development is brought about through a change dependent on the kind and degree of embeddedness. The strength or weakness depends on the structure of personal relations and networks between and within society and institutions which determine the impact or process of development. Embeddedness requires a certain amount of investments or corresponding costs that result in benefits. Social capital inherently carries this embeddedness in the form of social ties, networks, cultural practices and political context which will consequently shape the types of opportunities youth seek for their development.

Woolcock (1998) further expresses the need for a complimentary set of autonomous social ties which is then incorporated into the framework for analysis in respect of the four perspectives. Autonomy critically relates to the checks and balances or the integrity of the processes and embeddedness refers to the depth of organisational integration.

The complementarity of embeddedness and autonomy is a very necessary precondition for social capital. At a micro level the complementarity will lead to the involvement of community members and non-community members. Similarly, for the discussion groups to have a more representative interaction, a networked youth had to bring a non-networked youth. At the macro level, senior government officials mandated by political leadership still work in terms of their professional ethics that commits them to recruiting, motivating and rewarding staff in pursuit of the achievement of a common goal – the organisations' vision and mission.

At the micro level, embeddedness refers to intra-community ties and at the macro level it refers to state–society relations. While on the one hand, autonomy at the micro level refers to extra-community ties and at the macro level, on the other hand, it refers to institutional capacity and credibility.

The micro level encompasses the family, households and community level. This level finds context in Woolcock and Narayan's (2000) communitarian and network views.

The macro level contextualised in the institutional view consists of vertical, formal relationships and structures such as government. The micro level refers to horizontal organisations and social networks operating on the cognitive sphere (trust, norms, solidarity, values and reciprocity) and the structural sphere (information sharing, collective action, composition and practises of local level institutions).

The complementary and most all-encompassing view takes the informal, local, horizontal relationships of the micro level and links it to the macro level, with formal and institutional relationships and structures and reflects the synergy view which underpins sustainable development.

At the micro level, also referred to as bottom-up development; embeddedness, and intra-community ties are highlighted and integration is the key activity. Autonomy, the extra-community networks are regarded as linkage. Embeddedness refers to state-society relations at the macro level and represents top-down development referred to as synergy, whereas autonomy is referred

to as institutional coherence, competence and capacity identified in the framework as organisational integrity.

Coleman (1990) introduced a meso level as he found social capital consists of a very broad range of different entities. So he arranged vertical, hierarchical relationships according to its power distribution. An example would be; while local government is an important form of linking social capital, more power to invest financially and programmatically would elevate the provincial and national government to a macro level structure for influence and policy transformation.

2.2.4 Woolcock and Narayan's Four Views of Social Capital

The researcher will use the framework by Woolcock and Narayan (2000) for the analysis of social capital. This framework incorporates the earlier work of Woolcock (1998) which laid a strong foundation for a central element of social capital, social relations and ties.

The researcher discusses the approaches postulated in the above authors' framework below.

The Communitarian View

This view recognises different dimensions of social capital including the case of good and bad social capital. This view combines different types of social capital, particularly bonding and bridging social capital. It also recognises that it is possible to have high bonding social capital, low bridging social capital and no real linking social capital in communities. The term "community" is a complex term which is used extensively in this thesis. "Community can constitute a variety of actors. In the theoretical sense community refers to a grouping with certain commonality which can be spatial or interest based" (Oxford Dictionary, 2007). The emphasis in this thesis will be on geographical areas in which people live and their commonality is focused on location and space. Halpern (2005) and Granovetter (1982) posit that bridging social capital while being described as "weak ties" offer external connections that could prove beneficial because useful information, goods and services in the broader community becomes accessible to the youth. Influential adults could mentor and offer more substantial support. Billett (2012) refers to bonding social capital as *getting by* and bridging social capital as *getting ahead* for youth. The communitarian view emphasises clubs, associations and civic groups as social capital. The quantity and quality of these networks defined as social capital will result in social cohesion being built in communities. It recognises that social capital formation can take place and it requires regular use and maintenance.

This perspective is at the micro level which is a good starting point. It is a fact that the majority of people, live, study, work, pray, recreate and vote as members of various formations but as distinct

social groups that shape one's very identity, values and priorities. Woolcock (1998) states that membership in these communities provides (or prevents) access to key professional networks, political insiders or critical elites; it is also the context in which one gives and receives care, friendship, encouragement and moral support.

Communities with high stocks of social capital would be safer, cleaner, healthier, wealthier, better educated, better governed and happier than those with low stocks of social capital. Putnam (2000) and Woolcock (1998) comment on the loss and/or decline of sense of community which is the basis of the communitarian perspective of social capital that argues that the solution to modern social problems lies in the re-establishing of the "mediating structures" of local civic associations.

In the apartheid era the strong community approach to social capital enabled the destabilising and overthrow of the previous government as it did not meet the needs of all communities with positive social ties. There were only embedded social ties with no autonomy at this micro level as no macro level accountability was present due to the state not being representative of the entire community.

Community protests, in recent times in South Africa, involving large numbers of youth is as a result of the high level of drop-outs and unemployed youth expressing their frustrations. A government without a youth social capital lens which requires consultation and appropriate communication about service delivery problems will struggle unless its style, form and structure changes. High levels of social solidarity do not automatically lead to economic prosperity and this can have a limited impact on development.

This perspective also recognises bad social capital or "perverse" social capital as it is coined by Rubrio (1997) and Woolcock and Narayan (2000). Most theorists led by Putnam (2000) experienced social capital as "common good" but failed to examine exclusion and networks which threaten community. Gang culture is probably the highest form of bonding social capital. It not only excludes but it breaks down community trust of non-members. The researcher has chosen Manenberg as one of the areas in the Western Cape to study youth social capital. It is probably the area that has the most gang activity, which even pervades the schools in the area. This aspect has placed a further burden on this community despite the many good networks that have emerged. As a result of this phenomenon, the researcher will be looking to see if there is also stock of bridging social capital which would lead to opportunities despite it being weaker ties and if this gang activity is a barrier to public sector interventions that can inform the development of youth.

The Network View

Woolcock and Narayan (2000:230) postulate this perspective, which requires that networks expand across divides of “religion, class, ethnicity, gender and socio-economic status”. It seeks to find combinations of horizontal and vertical associations (Gittell & Vidal, 1998). This view recognises the value of community, neighbours and family helping out. However, there is a down side to this assistance as it can lead to fatigue with the poor helping the poor and family members turning to family members when in need. A sense of duty and commitment propels this action and creates the *glue* (World Bank, 2003).

The network perspective recognises that strong intercommunity ties (bonding social capital), equips “families and communities with a sense of identity and common purpose” (Astone et al., 1999:13).

This perspective also draws the researcher’s attention to the potential barriers to extra-community (bridging social capital) ties. If the horizontal ties are strong and the inter-community ties are strong, it is less likely that there will be an interest to venture into a formal network across the religious, gender, class and ethnicity divides in a community.

Several authors’ work on the network view recognises two key propositions (Massey, 1998; Portes, 1998; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). The first proposition is that social capital is a double-edged sword. Networks can add value, favours can be done because people are in a network, but equally there can be economic and non-economic demands on members that restrict their individuality or force them to make decisions contrary to a mandated network position.

The second proposition is that the sources of social capital form the consequences derived from them. The researcher has already clarified that this research identifies social capital as a resource. Outcomes can be negative to non-members.

The above proposition gives rise to the conclusion that both strong, intra-community networks (bonding social capital) and weak; extra-community networks (bridging social capital) are needed to avoid making overly ambitious claims regarding the efficiency of social capital. It should be understood that if a network is successful based on dense community ties it might not be as successful in another setting.

For example; bridging social capital could take subsistence level farmers who were using bonding social capital networks into co-operatives, by expanding their markets into other communities with positive effect of „*getting ahead*” instead of merely „*getting by*”. These bonded ties are not enough to ensure development, but rather just enough to ensure that youth are „*getting by*” (Billett, 2011). Networks might become more organised than just associations in the communitarian view, but they

are still on the micro level and need to be strengthened to take communities to the next level. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) cite that the clear challenge to the network perspective for social capital theory and practice is to identify the conditions under which the many positive aspects of embedded bonding social capital, at a micro level, in poor communities can be harnessed. But at the same time retain its integrity (autonomy) by reducing negativity or risk while simultaneously helping the poor to gain access to formal institutions and a more diverse stock of bridging and linking social capital.

The network perspective does not incorporate institutions at a societal level, but only at a homogenous community level leaving out state–society networks which could play a positive role in youth getting ahead (Billett, 2011). The researcher wants to explore how collective action can take place. Whilst the network view deals with structures, it reduces the impact because only the group gains and not the larger collective.

Collective action is sometimes challenged with multiple dilemmas, especially for external non-governmental organisations, or extension services and development agencies which have their own agenda or donor bias. This might entail changes which seek to alter social systems impacting on longstanding cultural traditions or dominant power groups particularly in Africa and South Africa.

In South Africa, we have experienced the emergence of community protests which originates from certain groups and networks in communities around particular issues. This type of network currency has not yielded positive results for many communities. It has been observed that even local councillors have become involved, but their goals have been thwarted by provincial and national governments.

The network view minimises the „public good“ nature of social groups. The corrective action lies in the recognition of dominant and overtly discriminatory practises in the network. A high level of social capital is required which involves consultation and mediation to obtain a balance between embeddedness and autonomy to regain the common good.

The Institutional View

This perspective of social capital is based on the premise that “the vitality of community networks and civil society is largely a product of the political, legal and institutional environment” (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000:234).

This view is further premised on the fact that collective action depends on the quality of the formal institutions within communities and society. The communitarian and the network views see social

capital as an independent variable whilst this perspective views it as a dependent variable. This approach is largely informed by the performance of governments, their coherence, competence, quality and relevance to communities to enable development (Knack & Keefer, 1995).

The institutional approach to social capital argues that the capacity of the social networks to pursue collective action depends on the quality of the formal institutions. The reliance is on the effects of the government's ties to institutions through linking social capital. The key elements for linking social capital to optimise opportunities, is generalised trust, civil liberties and bureaucratic quality. Skocpol (1995) and Tandler (1997) initially argued that companies and communities would be successful when governments are weak. Their conclusion was that civil society institutions function to the extent that governments actively encourage it. Some of the institutions are funded by government and various aid agencies. This state-society relationship requires respect and clear role clarification. Many governments outsource some of their core functions and responsibilities to external institutions in communities. This, in turn creates leaner governments with less state responsibility and less direct communication with communities. This imbalance might result in service delivery and development of a poor quality.

The very strength of the institutional view in addressing macro-economic policy and development is the involvement of the state (top-down). However, its weakness is that it lacks the micro-economic (bottom-up) component.

At the macro level of social capital, representing top-down development, the critical element is organisational integrity. If organisational integrity is weak; as a result of untransformed staff that are not providing a quality service; or, a lack of transparent processes in engaging the community, on a micro level, to demonstrate the integration and links; development will be negatively affected. This reduces the impact on development as a result of low stock contribution of internal social capital.

Woolcock (1998) wrote of social capital's role with regard to a democratic government's performance in moving from a purist bureaucracy to providing quality services based on the human rights culture as we have in South Africa. This view holds that social capital can reduce poverty and inequality. Various authors (Woolcock, 1998; Collier & Gunning, 1999; Knack, 1999; Easterly, 2002; Landman, 2013) recognise that growth and development is slow where there are oppressive, autocratic political and government institutions. Africa is cited for slow growth as a result of ethnic struggles and political conflict which impede growth due to a lack of development and stock in the various forms of capital. This view or perspective locates itself mainly within the context of the macro economic agenda.

Finally, this perspective has to take into account that competent and coherent governments take decades to construct. Many newly established governments initially yield benefits internally, but not those which necessarily benefit the poor whose voices remain absent. Internal social capital will better capacitate the state, but it still requires integration (embeddedness) and linkage (autonomy) to provide a feedback loop and integrity in the process.

The Synergy View

This fourth perspective recognises that government on its own will not succeed in the growth and development of its people. A developmental state agenda requires a common purpose and commitment of all the stakeholders, government, civil society, business and labour. The enabling conditions depending on the sector to be developed, requires synergy and integration of all the stakeholders, particularly the affected communities. The conditions that will promote synergy will require bonding, but particularly bridging and linking social capital as a result of the complementarity of relations between the state and society in an integrated and co-ordinated manner.

The three preceding views on social capital can be seen as foundational steps towards constructing the fourth view, namely, synergy. It sees the combination, collaboration and co-ordination of all the actors: community groups, voluntary organisations, business, private and public sector into a viable process of broad based, sustainable development.

Complementarities and partnerships need to forge links both within and across these different sectors.

The synergy view's central tenets are espoused by Woolcock and Narayan (2000:238) as follows:

1. To identify the nature and extent of a community's social relationships and formal institutions, and the interaction between them;
2. To develop institutional strategies based on these social relations, particularly the extent of bonding and bridging social capital; and,
3. To determine how the positive manifestations of social capital – co-operation, trust and institutional efficiency – can offset sectarianism, isolationism and corruption.

Narayan (1999) and Fox (1996) recognise that if this is only at a local level, namely pockets of excellence, the linking social capital, which is imperative in this perspective, will not achieve the development of youth based on high levels of stock of the three types of social capital. South Africa has had the experience under apartheid of a failed state which gave rise to a plethora of non-governmental networks that emerged to fill the gap in replacing the government's role in

assisting the poor. At that time, funding was predominantly secured through anti-apartheid activities from the international donor community. This in fact led to youth being organised around strong stocks of bonding and bridging social capital, but there was little or no linking social capital to the illegitimate government and its institutions representing it at that time.

This view requires the positive manifestations of generalised trust, institutional efficiency, bottom-up developed networks and formal interaction and social relations with top-down state interventions. To transform the current functioning of the state machinery there will have to be continuous monitoring to achieve collective action. Internal social capital strategies will be required in and across the state departments involving officials in the transformation process.

The literature has amassed greater volumes of research in communitarian and networks perspectives that focus on bonding and bridging social capital. Fewer works are available in terms of the institutional perspective. The synergy perspective is still largely underdeveloped.

The researcher aims to deepen the existing empirical data on this approach by linking youth, and its formations in communities, to public sector interventions for the potential to form social capital. As such, the research framework of this study recognises the impact of each component, its value and role as either dependent (institutional perspective) or independent (communitarian and network perspective) or a mediating variables (synergy) perspective of social capital. The variance between the different perspectives provides the basis of analysis for this research.

The theoretical framework is based on research evidence that suggests that of the four perspectives (also referred to as the approaches or views) in the literature; the synergy view has the greatest impact. Therefore, this research intends to provide more empirical support for the synergy view because it incorporates different levels and dimensions of social capital and recognises the positive and negative outcomes that social capital can generate. Also, the approach produces the best developmental results because it lends itself best to comprehensive and coherent policy prescriptions.

This approach deepens the empirical nature of social capital by showing its value and intellectual robustness as a credible instrument in the social sciences narrative on state–society relations in fostering development for poor youth.

Collaboration between all the sectors requires trust and credible dispute resolution processes with a common agenda of youth development. Organised community networks, committed associations and business partners, together with transformed government officials, will result in external and internal social capital that will support interventions for youth development to take place.

This research seeks to describe the level and degree to which synergistic social capital stock, both internal and external, exists to enable collective action with positive results.

Based on the discussion thus far it is clear that social capital is a resource to help groups, in this instance youth, to address challenges which require collective action. For more sustainable theoretical and empirical significance, social capital must resolve dynamic challenges. These challenges occur across a wide range of societal and organisational dilemmas and the collective action taken is a result of complex social relations and network co-ordination for successful development.

Linking social capital that culminates in opportunities is the most beneficial type of social capital for the youth. Several authors (Putnam, 1993; Pope, 2003; Enfield, 2008; Steenkamp, 2011; Billett, 2012; Landman, 2013) conclude that high levels of social capital, particularly linking social capital, make it possible to have better social organisations, which results in more efficient institutions. Youth need to leverage off these institutions to ensure a better quality of life. This type of social capital integrates the responses and interventions for youth as amplified in the synergy view, but this can only occur if the government is accessible, has integrity, is transparent and its representatives have a common agenda. If all these conditions are in place then linking social capital results in actual development.

Finally, bonding and bridging social capital are significant in the youth's lives, but higher levels of linking social capital are required to fully explore the stock of social capital.

The researcher will show the different types of social capital experienced by the youth in the six communities which were examined in the findings and analysis chapter of this dissertation.

Exclusive social capital is found in families, neighbours, communities and society, a person or group's assets for support, help in a crisis and emerging for material gain. Communities endowed with diverse stocks of social capital networks and associations are in a stronger position to confront poverty and vulnerability, resolve disputes and take up opportunities (Narayan, 1999; Moser, 1996; Schafft, 1998; Isham, 1999; Varshney, 2000).

The poor may have a close-knit and intensive stock of bonding social capital that they can leverage to „get by“ (De Souza Briggs, 1998; Holzman & Jorgensen, 1999; Billet, 2011). Parents' involvement in their children's school life needs to be more extensive, and it needs to be recognised that a child's intelligence and motivation might not be enough to ensure that a brighter

future can be achieved for these youth. Attending a church or a mosque service is a small element of participation, but the network is participating in religious gatherings, and assisting with church projects and volunteering in community outreach programmes.

The poor lack the more diffuse and extensive bridging social capital deployed by the non-poor and/or non-members to enable a process to „get ahead“ (Barr, 1998; Narayan, 1999; Kozel & Parker, 2000; Billett, 2011).

There is a sense that individuals and households, as members of a given community, can appropriate social capital from their relationship with the state. The way in which communities structure themselves is important for this leveraging of social capital from the state to take place. The appropriation process is affected by the state structures, accessibility and public sector employees. Weak, hostile or indifferent governments have a profoundly different effect on community life and development projects than governments that respect civil liberties, uphold the rule of law, honour contracts and resist corruption (Woolcock, 1998; Isham & Kaufmann, 1999). Public sector workers are the social ties that interface with community. Their work ethic and attitude could be barriers to the formation of internal social capital. Large organisations or institutions, at times, tend to leave workers out of important decisions, and this represents an absence of internal social ties. Workers require an active commitment to communication and training in organisations, government in particular. Transformation and change management is required for the public sector to work in communities. A focused strategy of internal social capital is required. Networks based on knowledge of policies, strategic plans and budgets, need to aid collaboration and integration in and between government departments.

This internal social capital is a precondition for resources to enable development to become a reality as a result of the combination of internal and external social capital (Petersen, 2005; Gormulia, 2006).

Social ties as a component of social capital can be either an asset or a liability. One incident of bribing an official by a community member to assist them faster can lead to a liability. Donor fatigue appears in non-governmental organisations and is also relevant in poor communities as international funding is being reduced. In poor families, the continued request for assistance which produced the stock of bonding social capital can become exhausted particularly when the poor have to help the poor continuously (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

Woolcock and Narayan (2000:242) state that “understanding how outside agencies can work to alleviate poverty in diverse and poorly understood communities, remains one of the greatest

challenges of development. A social capital perspective stresses that technical and financial soundness is a necessary but insufficient condition for acceptance of a project by poor communities”.

To overcome the numerous problems in achieving developmental outcomes through pursuing collective action and co-ordination of many groups, with different agendas, in the communities and with government; it is essential to be able to draw on both embedded and autonomous social ties.

2.2.5 Indicators and Proxy Indicators

As social capital cannot be directly measured, the researcher will link the dimensions of the definition to its indicators and/or proxy indicators for measurement. Earlier in this chapter, the researcher indicated many dimensions of social capital as it is used by a wide range of disciplines.

In the definition for this research, the dimensions or elements used are: institutions, relationships, networks and norms through which relationships and social interactions enable collective action.

Many authors (Coleman, 1994; Putnam, 2000, 2001; Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2001; Stone 2001; Franke, 2005; Billett, 2012; Enfield and Nathaniel, 2013) advocate a range of indicators based on the fact that social capital is conceptualised as a source, resource or by its function. The following indicators will be used: for institutions the indicator will be, institutional effectiveness, for networks, it will be membership and participation; for relationships and norms, it will be trust and reciprocity; and for collective action, the indicator will be social cohesion.

Institutional effectiveness together with use and knowledge of the product are the proxy indicators for institutions. Onyx and Bullen (2000) and Stone and Hughes (2002) suggest that institutional trust relates to whether or not the sector in community, in this case – the youth, have had experience with government and what the quality of their engagement with these institutions has been. An example would be the police, social workers and health workers rendering their services. The institutional effectiveness is based on the quality of the staff engagement, attitude, accessibility and the impact or problem-solving effect. If a level of confidence is established through use of government services, the individual will share the knowledge with the neighbourhood and community networks. Various studies indicate that government performance measures are divided into the following categories: policy processes, pronouncements and implementation (Putnam, 2000). The Productivity Commission (2003) suggests that where crime levels are high and the government response (police) is weak, social capital stock levels will

decrease. A lack of internal social capital is evident many times when a strategy needs follow through from different arms of government workers; for example cases of juvenile crime requires the work between SAPS, court officials and social workers. Many cases demonstrate how youth fall through the cracks when there is a lack of co-operation between these officials.

Membership and participation are indicators of measure for networks. Membership is important for a description of social capital because it reflects the depth of civic engagement, membership of voluntary associations or hours spent volunteering. Membership and participation could be informal, for example, religious affiliations and youth groups. It could also be formal, as an indicator of structural social capital, for example, institutional functioning could also be membership or participation in consultative youth structures. These structures are part of extending the democratic consultations and decision-making forums. This proxy indicator has been the focus of most social capital literature and studies. The stock of social capital is a resource or „agency“ of durable networks (Coleman, 1994; Woolcock, 1998; Grootaert & Van Bastelaer, 2001; Narayan & Cassidy, 2001; Putnam, 2001; Stone, 2001; Hopkins, 2002; Stone & Hughes, 2002; Pope, 2003; Schaefer–McDaniel, 2004; Deviren & Babb, 2005; Billett, 2012; Enfield & Nathaniel, 2013).

In addressing the dimensions of relationships and norms the proxy indicators to be used are trust and reciprocity. Trust is considered to be an important element in social capital (Putnam, 1993; Cox, 1997; Coleman, 1988; Collier, 1998; Kawachi, 1999; Snijders, 1999; Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000; Lemmel, 2001; Welsh & Pringle, 2001). The networks established within the social capital approach are built and maintained on trust. Trust can be defined as an emotional and logical behaviour towards others by believing in the integrity, ability, or character of a person or thing. It has the emotional element of exposing your vulnerability to others in believing one's trust will not be abused. It also includes a certain degree of predictability that the trusted person or system will behave in a certain way. Even though trust always contains an element of uncertainty and not knowing, it provides a feeling of safety for the present and future as it is based on a type of exchange with others. Trust is an important element of social capital and as the definition indicates there is often thought involved in whatever is exchanged in the relationship might be returned if needed.

Another term that also appears in the social capital context is reciprocity (Coate & Ravallion, 1993). Social capital is based on relationships and networks. These networks function on the basis of trust, but also on the understanding that a co-operative interchange of favours or privileges takes place among the members of this network. Reciprocity refers to the basic principle of giving

and taking mutually, which is complementary or at least equivalent to what was provided. Reciprocity mostly refers to a non-formalised understanding among partners which in certain instances can be formalised (Fehr, Graetcher & Kirchsteiger, 1997).

Since mid-1990s, the term social cohesion has been employed as a framework and agenda for examining, promoting and managing the quality and sustainability of societies. There is some consensus among social scientists that social cohesion can be said to be present in societies to the extent that societies are coherent, united and functional, and provide an environment within which citizens can flourish. In other words, social cohesion is what holds societies together. A key component of social cohesion is social justice (Chidester et al., 2003). In the way that social cohesion is defined, as more is better, in terms of constitutional and human rights, public sector delivery should create active citizenry and cohesive communities. Geddes (1998:20) defines social cohesion as “the reconciliation of a system of organisations based on market forces, freedom of opportunity and enterprise with a commitment to the values of internal solidarity and mutual support which ensures open access to benefit and protection for all members of society”. Social cohesion is often closely linked to the concept of social capital. Social cohesion is seen as the product of social capital or in other words, social capital in society contributes to social cohesion.

2.3 Stock of Social Capital

The stock of social capital is an accumulated amount of social capital. It refers to the social capital available within a specified group or area. The size and capacity of social networks may affect overall stocks of social capital (Stone, 2001: 16). The use of the term stock in the context of social capital resonates well with the term "capital". How much is available? As social capital is an intangible concept, the stock of social capital is dependent on the definition and measurement of the latter using its indicators. The stock of social capital in a community cannot be derived from adding up individual social capital but it can be identified in the strength or weakness of collective relationships within and across networks. Contrary to other forms of capital, the stock of social capital increases if it is used extensively (Sobel, 2002: 141-143). The stock of social capital is also dependent on the state-society relations. If there is no internal social capital in the government the stock of overall social capital for the youth in the six areas will be affected.

2.4 Criticism of Social Capital

Social capital has not only found positive resonance in the academic world but has also been extensively criticised and challenged. Quibria (2003: 4-13) summarises his major critique in four broad themes.

Firstly, the diversity of definitions of social capital is seen as a concept critique. The concept of social capital is difficult to keep in the boundaries of one or two sciences when it actually crosses over into a variety of approaches. Even though the variety of definitions is criticised extensively, it also indicates the importance of the context for social capital. Context can be referred to in terms of the discipline where social capital has been applied, such as organisational management or social development but also refers to country specific or stakeholder specific definitions. The variety of definitions in many cases can be seen as an emphasis on a specific aspect of social capital.

Putnam (2001) says social capital is not “homogeneous”, and Stone and Hughes (2002) denote it as a “multi-dimensional concept” therefore reinforcing the sentiment that it is so many things to so many disciplines that it leads to a conceptual lack of clarity. Woolcock (1998) and Stone (2001) agree that this lack of clarity is as a result of it trying to explain “too much with too little”. If there is conceptual confusion it is because social capital “encompasses too much and is at risk of explaining nothing” (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer, 2001; Enfield, 2008). Finally, this flexibility of the use of social capital in so many disciplines has allowed for ongoing research which will allow for more comprehensive and clearer empirical work to gain more specific relationships and constructs if the researchers work within a specific framework.

The second area that leads to the lack of agreement in academia is whether social capital as suggested by Woolcock (1998) is the “medium or the message”. Other authors note that often the literature has failed to clarify whether social capital is an outcome, or a resource to a beneficial outcome or collective action (Portes, 1998; Stone, 2001; Stone & Hughes, 2002; Pope, 2003; Productivity Commission, 2003). The researcher in this study has heeded this caution and based on the definition used in this study, confirms that this study’s approach to social capital is to see it as a vehicle or resource to collective action and not an outcome.

The situation is further exacerbated particularly when social capital was the secondary and not the primary investigation. Initial research tended to focus on the outcomes in their disciplines in large

data sets and those studies used social capital merely as an explanation for a missing link. The primary focus of this research is to investigate social capital, youth and the public sector.

Enfield (2008) further refers to this situation as social capital being seen as a „*fix it all*“ for all social ills. Pope (2003) cites Labonte’s (1999) narrative about „*something going on out there*“ but what exactly „*the gluey stuff*“ or „*the something*“ is, remains moot if not clearly defined or conceptualised by the researcher.

In some instances it is about the strength and type of networks that generate social capital and in other definitions, the emphasis is on the aspect of trust or the social norms. The researcher has encompassed all these aspects in the questionnaire, the findings of which will be presented in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

The second critique of social capital is that most of the literature neglects the possibility of negative outcomes of social capital. Woolcock (1998) points out that social capitals’ negative impact is often neglected because it is seen as a public good and is justified as „*communitarian advocacy*“. Many authors refer to this as social capital being negative or having a dark side (Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2001; Hopkins, 2002; Pope, 2003; Productivity Commission, 2003; Enfield, 2008).

The negative social capital has four broad areas according to Portes (1998), Hopkins (2002), Pope (2003), Field (2003), and Enfield (2008). These areas are:

1. Exclusion of outsiders which presents a barrier to building social cohesion. South Africa, despite its democracy, still experiences racial exclusion.
2. Excess claims on group members. This is seen in the gang culture, where very strong bonding social capital demands often results in members posing a threat against their “own community”.
3. Restrictions on individual freedoms. In recent community unrest in South Africa, where the request to government was for a separate municipality, many youth who wanted to attend school were restricted as a result of forced school closures by community leaders.
4. Downward leveling norms. This is seen when factional groups have an agenda about how development should be effected. At times NGOs are co-opted and development is then stopped with everyone being subjected to underdevelopment and inequality.

Percy-Smith (2000) links the social capital approach to the social exclusion debate and argues that social capital assists in breaking down the prevalence of social exclusion. Social exclusion looks into the inability of individuals and groups who are poor and/or have a lack of access to services and the fulfillment of rights, which results in certain forms of discrimination or segregation. Social exclusion provides reasons for a lack of socio-economic development, as seen in poor and developing communities which are as a result of historical and spatial contexts. Social capital, therefore, becomes one of the important factors to transcend social exclusion by crowding in networks through opportunities to form collectives geared for action.

It is important to recognise that there is a potential for positive and negative social capital. This is particularly important when at times combinations of the different types of social capital interact together to create a negative result. This is seen in some of the poor communities that have been studied for this research, for example, the gangs in Manenberg and drug dens in Mitchell's Plain. In these groups, young people come together based on commonality and geography with a common cause, to protect themselves and exert improper power relations over others; which then results in crimes being committed against other citizens.

It is questioned whether social capital can be considered a form of capital. Some authors compare the similarities between social capital and other forms of capital (Falk & Kilpatrick, 1999; Hofferth et al., 1999; Schmid, 2000; Smith & Kulynych, 2002).

Grootaert (1998:9), as one of the key proponents of social capital, confirms that there is no consensus amongst academics about which aspects of "social interaction and organisations merit the label social capital, nor the validity of the term „capital" to describe this". Putnam (2000:22) purports that social capital, just like any other form of capital, can be directed towards "malevolent, anti-social purposes".

Portes (1998:7) for example, writes "whereas economic capital is in people's bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships". The structure of their relationship refers to the types of networks, trust, reciprocity and social norms. There are further similarities with the neo-classical term of capital that can be found since social capital builds on expectations of future returns, requiring maintenance and is convertible. This is particularly evident in friendships; if these friendships are not sustained, the quality of the network is diminished and expectations of assistance will not be at the same level of a relationship that is regularly reinforced.

The World Bank Social Capital Initiative (SCI) contends that the link between physical, natural, human and social capital is sustainable growth which is the hallmark of development (Grootaert, 1998:1). Grootaert and van Bastelaer (2002:7) argue in support of social capital that, in the first instance, it is closely aligned to human capital in that it can accumulate as a result of its use to „*produce a mutually beneficial output*“. In the second instance, there is another suggested attribute which social capital has in common with other forms of capital; which is, that it requires investment and requires at least two actors to produce it.

The final listed critique by Quibria (2003) refers to the measurement of social capital and has been supported by many others (Fukuyama, 2001; Narayan & Cassidy, 2001; Collier, 2002; Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2002). Many recent publications are dealing with the question of how to measure social capital. Without a common definition, the measurement or the existence of social capital is difficult to prove and to compare. In addition to the problem of definition, social capital is an intangible concept and therefore not directly measurable. Grootaert and Van Bastelaer (2001:2) lament the fact that a lot of the measurement confusion is as a result of the studies based on secondary analysis of social capital. The general mixture of measures, indicators and outcomes has detracted from the proven significance of social capital as a concept.

The SCI initiative concluded that like human capital, social capital is difficult to measure directly. To provide studies on social capital with sound empirical intent, indicators and proxy indicators need to be used.

Only proxies clearly defined and linked to social capital are actually measureable. The proxy indicators the researcher has used are institutional effectiveness, membership and participation, trust, reciprocity and social cohesion. This approach leaves space for vulnerability to academic criticism, but at the same time it is also the opportunity for an in-depth exploration from a variety of perspectives. The challenges in measuring social capital have resulted in a limited amount of reliable data on social capital being available.

“In social capital a distinct imbalance exists: There is far more theory and speculation than measurement: Social capital is a new field, suffering from a great lack of good, reliable data. Both time series and cross-country evidence are missing” (Paldam, 2000: 17).

It is for this reason that the researcher has conducted descriptive research. The question arises as to why social capital should be considered at all in the scientific debate. The researcher, in finding

support for social capital, uses the work of Schuller (2001) to demonstrate the concept's significances. Firstly, social capital assists with the analysis of complex and interrelated complexities of the modern world. It provides an additional lens and compliments existing policy concepts. Secondly, social capital counters the move to individualisation and the emphasis of the worth of the individual alone. It assists in conceptualising interventions and policy concepts which not only give the individual all responsibility to interact, but also the broader context of the individual being part of certain relationships and networks. The third aspect of the importance of social capital, despite its criticism, is the long-term perspective of social capital. Relationships and trust can only be developed over time and social capital is therefore an argument for applications and interventions that reach beyond quick-fix solutions. Fourthly, it provides an opportunity to relate a social aspect of economic development because social capital challenges growth theories to acknowledge the contribution of social actors in economic activity. This approach recognises the impact of skilled human capital in economic development. However, the moral dimension brought into the debate by social capital, through norms and social networks, also requires a clearer articulation of which norms and social interactions are needed.

Lastly, Schuller (2001) highlights the „*heuristic quality*“ of social capital. He states that a fresh and innovative perspective on longstanding issues can be developed through the social capital lens.

In responding to the above critique, the researcher notes that despite the problems identified with the concept and the use of the term social capital, there has been an increasing rate of academic and public examination of its contribution to development. For the researcher, and many other scholars to form a theoretically informed approach, the following facets hold true for the use of the term social capital in this study (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer, 2001; Stone, 2001; Hopkins, 2002; Productivity Commission, 2003; Enfield & Nathaniel, 2013).

Firstly, we have to recognise that social capital is a multi-dimensional concept comprising of institutions, networks and norms. Secondly, the use of proxy indicators, in this instance, institutional effectiveness, membership and participation, norms of trust and reciprocity, and social cohesion will not detract from its validity. This is based on human capital measurements that have used proxy indicators for decades without confusion. Thirdly, the researcher is clearly using social capital as a resource to collective action. Finally, distinguishing social capital and its outcomes renders the above debates and critiques useful.

The researcher has understood the critiques of social capital and is contributing to further social capital data and is defining social capital through this work. The intangible nature of social capital and the need for context specific adjustments are taken into consideration through the use of proxies for the measurement of the stock of social capital. The researcher has therefore presented the history of the concept, the origin of the definition of social capital and has chosen a context specific definition.

2.5 Social Capital and the Public Sector

The introduction of social capital as a policy informant for development helps us to understand and hypothesise whether high levels of integration of social relations in poor communities can actually constitute a resource that can be used as a basis for constructing sustainable development programmes.

As already outlined, social capital happens at different levels, and dimensions and combinations. Too much social capital of the bonding type can lead to exclusion and too much, at an institutional level, can lock out community participation from government policy which can then lead to a failed state. So there is a critical balance that has to be achieved for synergy to take place.

Well-functioning governments with transparency and accountability embedded in its displays of institutional coherence, competence, capacity with strong intra-community ties (integration) and extra-community networks (autonomy), will lead to the links required that underpin collective action for long term development. This needs to happen at both the micro (bottom-up) and the macro (top-down) approaches of state–society relations to ensure synergy and integration for successful linking social capital. This type of social capital is imperative for the transition of poor communities, and particularly for the youth to prosper.

The researcher expanded her knowledge of social capital and public policy by referencing three key articles from New Zealand, Australia and South Africa.

Wallis and Dollery (2006) recognise that policies to re-invigorate state capacity rests on government agencies that are fostering social capital to buffer against the problems that arise as a result of government failure. These authors critique New Zealand's public sector policy of contractualism because it is top-down and therefore it hinders the production of social capital that is required for government effectiveness. This government policy by New Zealand shows cost reduction and vertical accountability. The growing areas where government failure is evidenced are in areas where a multiplicity of government agencies working in collaboration to solve

problems without bottom-up networks of civil engagement based on trust and reciprocity. This lack of collaboration between and within government demonstrates the barriers to internal social capital, which results in community rejection or a lack of use. Government officials need to be part of the democratic leadership and accountable directly to dealing with the poor and vulnerable groups which could be excluded. This is a clear description of a lack of internal social capital (Wallis & Dollery, 2001).

The second case study is based on the Australian Productivity Commission. The Commission (2003:IX) recognised that “social capital has been ascribed many benefits including enhanced health, better educational outcomes, improved child welfare, lower crime rates, reduced tax evasion, and improved governmental responsiveness and efficiency”. They go further to show the link between social capital and productivity, income and other indicators of economic performance. The entity bases its work on the OECD’s (2001) and the World Bank’s (2003) studies into the positive impact of social capital, and whether existing policies can be „*recalibrated*” to better use existing stocks of social capital. There is also a need to remove government policies that actually break down social capital. This could be as a result of austerity measures which affect non-government organisations” (NGOs) funding or removing neighbourhood watches set up by the community policing authorities. Low social capital in depressed and poverty stricken communities can reinforce existing inequalities. This negative policy shift could also result in high levels of bonding social capital that have a negative impact on development. Xenophobic attacks in poor communities are an example of negative social capital.

The Commission drawing on the works of Cox (1997), OECD (2001) and Petrie (2002) make the following concluding assumptions: internal social capital produces better public governance and more effective political institutions that reinforce trust and community based networks. Governments provide an enabling environment through its social capital resource of communicating information that shape society by influencing decisions and behaviour that create social norms. Governments also have the role to increase social cohesion by increasing and reasserting governments” visibility and should avoid outsourcing its functions because it would distance itself from the poor. In order to instil, enhance and create social capital based on trust, governments need to allow participation and support to be provided to community based projects.

Gormulia (2006) recognises that South Africa, in its post-apartheid period, through its constitution and policies became a democracy that embraces the human rights culture to build a people-centred government. The post-1994 constitution emphasises political participation of all citizens;

and in order to build trust, it demands participatory consultations that give citizens a voice in policy formation.

The author acknowledges that the vision on its own, does not guarantee that social capital is understood or has the buy in of the public sector officials who have to design the policies.

The author directs that training to deal with the negative attitude of the officials should be dealt with through the use of internal social capital programmes with the various government departments. Social capital requires a shift from silo functioning to integrated policy development and implementation. This will require trust, collective action and community participation in the policy design process.

The current research is premised on the adoption by the then ANC-led Provincial Government of the Western Cape's growth and development strategy of 2005, *Ikapa Elihlumayo*, which embraced social capital as part of the approach of the developmental state.

The National Government of South Africa has adopted an array of policies and institutions to support youth development. This study will assess the stock of social capital and whether public sector interventions based on these policies have realised stocks of social capital among the youth to support their development.

The researcher will now focus on public sector performance research and social capital. A search conducted by Andrews (2011) and confirmed by this researcher revealed approximately 50 studies internationally. These studies either focussed on single elements of health or education outcomes, inferring an element of social capital, for example, trust (Rice & Sumberg, 1997; Coleman, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Knack, 2002; John, 2005; Westen et al, 2005; Rothstein & Stolle, 2008; Andrews & Brewers, 2010).

Many researchers focus on social capital as an outcome (Knack, 2002; Rothstein & Stolle, 2008). They explore the voluntary organisations of communities and non-governmental organisations in a shared perspective to a government department's work in providing more effectiveness, but a greater focus is on a reduction of a government's involvement and financial resources. Their major focus is social trust, community volunteerism and informal sociability.

This current research hones in on whether or not the stock of social capital within a sector (youth) of a community depends on the quality, access and efforts of those who actually are mandated to be the providers of public service goods (internal social capital). Therefore, the researcher will unpack the types of social capital, bonding, bridging and linking. Linking social capital is essential

because it builds on the former two types of social capital in order for it to be a resource that is required to advance development through institutional links. However, without a transformed public sector the link is limited. The synergy approach would require linkages with an integrated, accessible government where internal social capital is evident to ensure more sustainable development.

The single-focus studies, mentioned above, fit clearly into Woolcock's (1998) institutional perspective. This means that the learners, educators and the professional staff are the persons who form the institution to ensure a positive outcome. The synergy perspective extends into all role-players in the broader community and society using the three earlier perspectives, namely; communitarian, networks and institutional view to provide the enabling environment through the establishment of a programme using government resources to achieve a broader societal goal (synergy view).

This perspective goes beyond the policy domain. In South Africa, structures such as Nedlac brought policy makers together but implementation, buy in and staff resistance impacted delivery. Therefore, the National Development Plan 2030 (2012) for South Africa further espouses the focus of all stakeholders on implementation of the transformation agenda. This strategic step will foster the stock of social capital as a much needed resource to increase the communities' opportunity for development, with particular emphasis on the youth as a critical building block.

Another study on government performance and social capital was reported on by Sjöfn Vilhelmsdóttir (2012) on a local government level. The author's premise for his work is based on Putnam's (1993) study on the Italian regional government's interaction with civic networks that contributed to its success. The author used three indicators of social capital: generalised trust, participation in civic and voluntary organisations and social networks. The specific performance was measured in terms of responsiveness and effectiveness.

The data collection method for the generalised satisfaction survey was a telephonic interview. Vilhelmsdóttir (2012) used a stratified sample with three hundred people who were selected out of the twenty three municipalities in Iceland. The respondents were all over 18 years of age. The author concluded that external social capital has an effect on the performance of local government.

The researcher of this study, during her tenure as the head of the Department of Social Development, became aware that if the public sector presented policies and interventions without public participation, there was a greater chance that the impact of the investment would not be felt.

In fact, in some cases, there would be resistance from the very community the programme was intended to serve.

To address the above, partnerships need to be forged with communities. This type of partnership requires that governmental staff have to be trained in new ways of doing business (internal social capital). Community organisations also needed to be trained in community action planning and savings strategies in partnership with suitable organisations; this would include *stokvels*³, which the researcher recognises as a social capital vehicle (external social capital).

The World Bank (2003) describes the public sector as a key role player in any society. The World Bank points out that the state institutions are central to the functioning of any society. Good governance is described as a commitment to the welfare of citizens and the protection of their rights, fair and accountable institutions, well-established rule of law and citizen involvement all foster social and economic development.

Public sector policies are developed and implemented by government and these determine the actions and performance of the state. The addition or linking of social capital to public policy is described as “generating new types of non-economic, public policy tools to solve societal problems” (Landry et al., 2001: 74).

The consideration of the social capital approach for public policies are argued to have positive effects on state and society, such as the reduction of transactional costs through shared costs and accessible networks as demonstrated with the asset based models described earlier in this chapter. This method of work recognises a community's contributions as part of a shared process to ensure that there is impact and success for development to have been said to have taken place. Furthermore, social capital facilitates the dissemination of knowledge and innovations through relationship ties and could generate benefits for individuals and social spill-over when well-connected individuals and societies are enabled to care for each other (Productivity Commission, 2003: 15-20). Social capital moves away from individualistic approaches and fosters the promotion of co-operative and socially-minded behaviour.

The collaboration of networks and social relations assist in less capital intensive interventions as cross-cutting relations and networks, vertically and horizontally, promote a more effective and efficient use of resources (Glaeser, 2001: 39-40). The experience of the researcher has seen the

³ An Afrikaans word for community-based, informal savings groups.

use of consultants who are outsiders to the community and this approach is sometimes problematic particularly when the community strengths are used in parallel to implement projects in community. The people-centred perspective is a further argument for public policy application using the social capital approach as concerned citizens are consulted and become the centre of attention through this process.

The development and implementation of the social capital approach for public policies considers various tools and pre-conditions, such as a proactive integration of social capital perspectives to policy-making and assessing the readiness of institutions to apply social capital measures amongst others (Petersen, 2005).

2.6 Research and publications on social capital in and about South Africa

This thesis is based on a field study in the Western Cape, South Africa. The following section will embed the social capital approach within the South African and, particularly, the Western Cape's contexts. South Africa has a strong history in network formation, especially during the Apartheid era when communities came together to join forces against a common enemy, the apartheid government. The culture of philanthropy is also part of African cultural heritage. The concepts Vukuzenzele⁴, Ubuntu⁵, and Letsiema⁶ allude to social capital in communities. These concepts portray caring for your neighbour and volunteering for your community (Petersen, 2005 a).

The researcher has found that several studies have had social capital as a primary level investigation. There is a range of articles and studies that have recognised social capital within the scope of those studies, but social capital has been looked at as an additional feature and not a direct element of the studies as is evidenced below.

In 2006, Swart published an article entitled, "Churches as a stock of social capital for promoting social development in Western Cape Communities". In the article, he explored the role of social capital in order to advance the participation of churches in developmental work and activities rather than their classical approach to charity work. Churches have traditionally funded welfare organisations to dispense counselling and immediate social relief in terms of food parcels and clothing. This research was the basis for an academic book with the title *Religion and social development in post-apartheid South Africa: Perspectives for critical engagement* (Swart, Erasmus

⁴ "Wake up and do it yourself"

⁵ "We are who we are because of other people"

⁶ "Let's work (plough) together"

& Green, 2010). The book contains a variety of articles focusing on social capital and its links to the role of the church in contributing to the social capital agenda. The researcher of this study recognises the role of church in the lives of the youth.

In 2006, Gomulia submitted a master's thesis with the title, *State-society networks and social capital: A case of political participation in the Western Cape Province* to the University of the Western Cape. The study explored the theoretical background of social capital and the role that intermediaries could play in a society to foster political participation. The mainly qualitative data provided insight on how specifically linking social capital among communities and government could function. This study addressed both political participation and linking social capital to public sector performance; which is the subject of the current research, but this study goes further to focus on youth and not just whether or not the youth had voted in an election. The current research also views public sector interventions through an internal social capital lens to enquire whether youth social capital stock is being formed.

Harpham, Grant and Thomas (2006) published a research report called "Measuring social capital within health surveys: Key issues". The paper contributes data and measurements for the social capital debate with particular focus on health. As the current study seeks to measure the stock of social capital, it was relevant for the researcher to look at surveys which highlighted how to measure social capital.

Magruder (2007) studied the social capital family networks of sons and their fathers in their job search. This study focuses on the high unemployment (between 19% and 33%) for black South Africans. Panel data was secured in Cape Town, Western Cape. The data collected was sampled from the Cape Area Panel Study (Caps, 2002) of 4758 young adults aged between 14 and 22 years old in 2002. In 2005, 23% of the initial sample of the Caps study had migrated. The author argued that fathers provide jobs for their sons, but not their daughters when they live close enough. The study concludes based on the self-reported data that fathers appear to be an extremely important network connection for sons in South Africa. This was revealed against a backdrop of persistent growing unemployment.

The study also found that for blacks (which include coloured and Indian young men) their greatest disadvantage would be an absent or deceased father. It also found that a mother's networks were not useful connections for any of their children.

The Pronyk et al. (2008) study focused on whether or not social capital can be intentionally generated by conducting randomised trials in eight rural villages in the Limpopo province.

A quantitative evaluation was done on a microfinance intervention with women. One group, in the face-to-face interviews, had received microfinance and HIV training compared to the other group who did not receive the training. The aim was to reduce women's vulnerability to intimate partner violence and HIV. Cognitive and structural social capital was measured amongst 845 participants over a two year period.

They concluded that interventions that are designed through community consultation and capitalise on existing social networks result in social capital outcomes of community competence and community empowerment, which in turn resulted in a reduction of risky behaviours and the level of violence. Community mobilisation needs to be part of the process to strengthen social capital.

Another perspective was postulated by Jacobs (2009) in her master's thesis that explored the role of social capital in obtaining sustainable livelihoods based on a case study within a poor community in the Western Cape. The study focused on the three types of social capital, bonding, bridging and linking social capital. The current research, in its measurement of its stock of social capital, poses questions to extract findings for the three types of social capital, bonding, bridging and linking social capital.

Kessi (2011) did a study using photovoice methods to study social solidarity by drawing on social capital and identity based on a youth empowerment project in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Soweto, South Africa. The author sought to find evidence for whether or not social solidarity constitutes a driving force for development that benefits marginalised youth in society. The researcher focused on social change and the youths' sense of belonging to a specific community. Youth are often viewed as victims of poverty and underdevelopment, but they could be change agents with the right support.

In the study, Kessi (2011) describes six workshops with six different groups at three youth centres involving a series of photographs accompanied by written stories of 39 participants in two countries. The study revealed a negative image projection of the youth by themselves.

Kessi (2011) concluded that social solidarity is an important feature in development not necessarily to alleviate poverty, but also to mitigate more actively as a result of social relations which can accumulate. Youth can overcome the stigmatising beliefs and create more cohesive community social identities. Further research is required to provide empirical evidence beyond mobilisation to

the actual activities to ensure that there is change in their circumstances. These studies differ from the focus of this research study. The youth employment study is a single aspect approach dealing with networks which is only one dimension of social capital. In contrast, the Kessi photovoice study explored youth development, but the study was mainly concerned with the contradictions of development and social solidarity. It did, however, recognise that social solidarity, which is a dimension of social capital, is central to fostering youth community networks. The Kessi photovoice study only raised a single dimension of social capital. This research study aims to explore five dimensions, the different types of social capital and its related indicators.

2.7 Youth and Social Capital

The researcher uses the definition provided by the National Youth Commission (1997) of the South African government for this dissertation. Youth are defined as young men and women from the age of 14 to 35 years. Young people in this age bracket are a vulnerable group that requires social, economic and political support to realise their full potential. Whilst this definition is broad, and encompasses different stages of development, it is understood that this is a time in their lives when most young people are going through dramatic changes in their life circumstances as they move from childhood to adulthood (National Youth Commission, 1997:7). For the purposes of this study, the age cohort will be from 15 to 25 years, because it is recognised that the interventions proposed as a result of the study must impact youth over a period of five years.

Social capital is a concept that can be used especially to address situations where young people are affected and challenged. The context specific application of social capital, as described above, has to be applied. Young people connect to a variety of people and networks in and around their communities, schools, leisure activities and institutions in order to advance their own development. As an example, one could look into the concept of trust. Trust and its impact must be demonstrated in a manner applicable to the lives of young people and the ways in which they understand trust relationships (Whiting & Harper, 2003: 5-6). An often described example of negative social capital, namely, gangs, consist mainly of youth. Linking social capital to youth provides a new perspective on youth development and youth interventions. It makes young people the main actors in their development process. Active participation in networks and creating relationships means that opportunities arising from these networks can be used to enable young people to view themselves as protagonists (Morrow, 1999:42).

Deviren and Babb (2005) conducted a follow up study on young people and social capital, which is the follow up study to the Whiting and Harper (2003) study. For their research they liaised with the National Office of Statistics Omnibus Survey conducted in October/November 2003 and February 2004. The sample size of this research was based on two age cohorts: 483 youth between the ages of 16 to 24 years old and 3229 adults over the age of 25.

Six dimensions of social capital were studied: Issues on the political agenda, informal sociability, social participation and voluntary activity, civic participation, social networks and trust. The method of data analysis was a cross-tabulation for the two age groups. Using tests of proportion, the differences were tested. The analysis was further represented within each of the six dimensions of social capital expressed as: none, low, medium and high in terms of participation, interest or activity. A regression analysis was used for statistical analysis and logarithmic scales.

This study produced the following results. The youth had higher levels of informal sociability than the over 25 year old respondents. The youths' social support networks consisted of a friend, parent or guardian whilst for those over 25 years, the social support network was their spouse. Previous research had indicated that young people were more likely to sign petitions or join demonstrations. The follow-up study's results did not support this. Deviren and Babb (2005) confirmed a high level participation of young people in informal volunteering, for example, babysitting for a neighbour.

Civic participation was found to be present in both groups, but the difference was in the youth group where singular issues were discussed but in the older age group many issues were discussed. This report also revealed that the over 25 year old age group had higher levels of generalised trust compared to the youth group.

The above study concluded that the youth cohort participated in informal social activities and had larger social support networks than the older group. Finally, it found that the younger cohort was less likely to participate in social, civil and voluntary activities and political issues than the older adult group.

This dissertation will seek to confirm or disagree with the above study using two age cohorts of under 25 year old groups in six areas in the Western Cape, South Africa.

Authors Shaefer-McDaniel (2004) and Weller (2007) studied young people in low-income Hispanic/Latino and African American neighbourhoods in New York and also considered spatial aspects. These studies have recognised that the social capital „currency“ does not carry the same weight if you are spatially restricted, for example if you are from a rural area, or if you are not a gang member, then you and your family's lives are at risk as is common in at least four of the six

areas in this study. The authors cited above have also mixed the two groups because youth experiences cannot be examined in a vacuum, and the community impact has to be taken into account.

Holland released a working paper titled, “Young people and social capital: What can it do for us?” in September 2008. This paper focuses on three key objectives: the concept of social capital, its usefulness in the lives of young people and finally, the paper reports on a five year multi-project study of families and social capital.

As noted in section 2.2 of this chapter, only the last two of the objectives mentioned by Holland (2008), above, will be reported on. Holland (2008) suggests that the theorists of social capital, in relation to children and youth, fall into two groups which are linked to specific theorists: Coleman and Putnam focused on collective action and cohesion and their theories represent the first group. Bourdieu leads the second group with research that focuses on social justice and inequality. Holland (2008) further supports the two groupings by linking various authors under these two broader theoretical schools of thought. Under the Coleman – Putnam theoretical group, she explores Cherylyn Bassaine (2007) who studied the youth’s wellbeing in relation to groups and institutions the youth are members of the family, school and/or peer groups. This research was a quantitative measure showing the importance of the interactional effects on the youth, particularly in the educational field. Rob Strathee (2001) focused his study on New Zealand and the impact of sons’ drawing on their fathers’ experiences and networks to try and navigate the transition from school to work. The researcher concluded that the contexts had changed compared to their father’s time when his father got him the job; it was found that this was no longer a viable option. This is a different outcome to the earlier cited Magruder (2007) study where fathers actually facilitated jobs for their sons in South Africa.

For this study, the researcher targeted six communities which are defined by the contexts of unemployment, poverty and vulnerability. A descriptive narrative of the areas is presented as Annexure C. Further research to establish to what extent youth access and/or generate social capital, and show how it becomes a resource and how they use it, will follow. The potential sources of social capital are examined in the following context: families, educational institutions, friends and peer groups, but this does not exclude neighbourhoods, communities, political and civic activity (James & Prout, 1997; Morrow 1999, 2000; Egerton, 2002; Whiting & Harper, 2003; Schaefer–McDaniel, 2004).

Holland’s (2008) second group embraces Bourdieu’s theories where the focus is on issues of poverty, social justice and inequality. Raffo and Reeves (2000) conducted research in England on

31 disadvantaged and disaffected young people between the ages of 15 and 24 years old. They coined individualised systems of social capital which can both move youth forward, but can also constrain them. These authors, through their case studies, identified weak, strong, changing and fluid types of individual systems of social capital which created flexibility and adaptability for young people to manage their transition to adulthood. Five years later, Webster et al. (2004) visited the same areas in which Raffo and Reeves' study was conducted. This study highlighted the dark side of bonding social capital which leads to marginalisation, entrapment, exclusion and constraints; and acknowledged that as youth grow older, they abandoned negative bonding ties, like drug and gang activities.

Authors (Murray, 1994; Pilkington & Johnson, 2003; Bullen & Kenway, 2005; Muggleton, 2005; Blackman 2005; Shildrick 2006) further pursue social capital research under Bourdieu's concepts of culture, social and symbolic capital. The drug, club and gang subcultures are the focus of their research with historically disadvantaged groups and minorities. Also, it connects youth social capital with identity and a sense of belonging, family composition, gender and ethnicity.

The researcher in this study does not support Holland's (2008) approach of separating the two groups. Therefore, this research study draws on both theoretical positions, the Coleman - Putnam group and the Bourdieu group. This is because this research study has chosen to identify social capital stock in six specific (urban and rural) areas, which are identified as poverty nodes. These areas are characterised by unemployment and a range of youth challenges for black and previously disadvantaged youth. These challenges include, school drop-outs, gangs, and substance abuse.

The McMurphy et al. (2011) study focused on the youth's transition to adulthood. The researchers used participants of the Ontario Summer Jobs for Youth Programme. The research population was youth between the ages of 16 to 19 years old, who resided in four low income neighbourhoods. Thirty five youth, consisting of 20 males and 15 females, participated in four focus groups and also participated in individual interviews. These short term work placements provided the youth with workforce exposure and skills development in the absence of market opportunities. The youth in this qualitative study recognised that there were opportunities to be gained through programmes beyond their traditional networks since the job placements were located in various areas.

They also reported a newfound confidence and self-esteem. The youth were able to make decisions with regard to their future. 84% Of the male respondents and 57% of the female respondents felt that the six week job placement empowered them to make choices about their

future careers. The research carried out demonstrated that bridging social capital for disadvantaged youth can be formed through specific programmes.

Kahne and Bailey (2011) reported on youth programmes in Chicago after a two and a half year study of the "I Have a Dream" programme. This programme operated in ten sites (high schools) but only two sites had graduation rates of 71% and 69% compared to the below 40% average for the other sites. The investigation was into the critical success factors of the two sites in order for it to be replicated. The study was started in 1995 and the data was gathered and student interviews informed two case studies with control groups in each case study.

This programme's key features were the social trust relationships and networks between the learners, staff and sponsors. The resources were access to social networks, information and support which led to opportunities. The participation also led to an adherence of social norms.

The authors concluded that social capital, through social networks; and norms with effective sanctions; and social trust all accumulated to facilitate youth development.

Jarrett, Sullivan and Watkins's (2005) study adheres to the development of social capital through participation in organised youth programmes. The duration of the three programmes was three to four months. Thirty four youth constituted the sample and a total of 206 interviews were conducted. Their findings confirm three stages in the formation of relationships with community, non-family adults. The second key finding was that the relationship provided the youth with bridging social capital in the form of different resources and benefits.

Billett (2011) conducted a study using both qualitative (focus groups) and quantitative (survey) methods in rural Australia. She explored the stock of social capital of 50 youth aged between 14 and 18 years old. The gender split was 27 females and 23 males. The author critically examined why some theorists have described youth as "social capital deficient".

She (Billett, 2011) further considered class, culture and gender as she argued that social capital cannot be fostered or reproduced in isolation. Finally, she asserted that there is a difference between youth and adult social capital, therefore an adjustment to the measurement tools that are generally used in social capital research is required. She used two types of generators: assets and ties which relate to social networks. This raised questions as to what some of the resources that people in a youth network possessed, for example prestige, class, and status. For the youth, a person's network worth is to be seen with the in-crowd, or status linked persons, which are seen as useful qualities or benefits for the network's members. Billett (2011) recognised that these tools were largely untested and could undermine the validity of some of the data. But she emphasised

that her framework and data analysis tools are not applicable to a large data set. The generator used required extensive information from the participants, which included personal information of each network member they cited. In contrast to Billet's (2011) study, this research study is large because its data set contains the responses of 9 932 youth.

In summarising the findings, of Billet's research revealed that youth from disadvantaged backgrounds used their social capital to navigate poverty. However, it was found that class does affect the formation of social capital in terms of quality and type. It was also noted that social capital as a model of exchange was predominantly through bonding social capital which has been found to be very persuasive and precise. Bridging social capital was less usable as a result of the homogenous nature of the communities studied. But Billet (2011:221) concludes that "applying the lens of social capital can assist in transforming the image of youth in their transitory phase in life as valuable contributors to our society".

2.7.1 Youth public sector policy since 1994

This section was added to this chapter to showcase the trajectory of policy dealing with youth and indirectly and directly with social capital. The key here is to understand the broader policy context of the research and to showcase that policy have been put in place but that the incoherence in implementation and coordination lead to a lack of effect in changing young people's lives.

In 1994, the ANC launched its Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) as part of its ready to govern plan. It postulated that youth development should focus on education, training, job creation, and enabling young people to realise their full potential and participate fully in the society and their future (ANC, 1994).

As a result of the pre-democracy regime's impact on youth it became necessary to restore hope in their future and to channel their resourcefulness and energy into reconstruction and development.

To prevent further youth alienation, underdevelopment and unemployment, an autonomous National Youth Council was formed to co-ordinate youth activities, review legislation, lobby for youth rights and represent South Africa internationally. It also required that appropriate government departments be mandated to represent youth interests, including allocating resources to appropriate programmes and fund organisations involved in youth work (ANC: RDP, 1994).

As a result of the youth's contribution to South Africa's fight for freedom, special conditions for their advancement will never be undermined but it calls into question what has been done, how appropriate has it been and what has been the impact. Statistics South Africa (2010), report that

young people constitute 41.2% of the country's population. This relatively young population should be a bonus or a "demographic dividend". To address the needs of this section of the population, concrete interventions are required.

These interventions need to be located in policies and legislation.

The South African sources informing youth work are: the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996); that specifically lays the foundation for youth economic empowerment and the Bill of Rights enshrines the rights of people and affirms the values of human dignity, equality and freedom impacting the youth.

The National Youth Commission was launched on 16 June 1996. The National Youth Commission Act (1997) was promulgated in 1997. This structure was supported through provincial Youth Commission structures. The role of the Commission was to coordinate and develop an integrated national youth policy.

The National Youth Policy was approved by the Commission in December 1997. The national unit was located under the auspices of the office of the Deputy President. This policy defined youth in South Africa to be between the ages of 14 to 35 years of age. The mandate was realised through five key priority areas: monitoring, research and policy development, advocacy, capacity building, and co-ordination and facilitation. An inter-departmental committee on Youth Affairs was established with the following functions: planning, co-ordination, review and evaluation and financial planning and expenditure.

A youth law review team was also set up to review all youth related legislation across all government departments. Finally, a National Youth Action Plan was formulated to accompany the National Youth Policy (National Youth Commission, 1997).

The National Youth Service (NYS) Development Policy Framework was developed in 2002 to build mechanisms aimed at encouraging the youth to participate in volunteering to ensure the foundations of patriotism and social cohesion in South Africa. All government departments had to integrate this into their programmes. Central co-ordination and internal social capital was lacking and as a result the programme did not reach the expected outcome.

After many different fora meetings and review processes it was decided in 2007 that the National Youth Commission process had yielded some results, but more impact was required for the youth to become economically empowered beyond their social needs. The ANC, which was the ruling party in government, proposed the National Youth Development Agency which was then enacted

in 2008 (NYDA, Act 54 of 2008). The Act mandated the NYDA to develop an Integrated Youth Development Strategy for South Africa and initiate, design, and co-ordinate, evaluate and monitor all programmes aimed at integrating the youth into the economy and society in general. The Agency was further instructed to promote a uniform approach by all organs of state, the private sector and non-governmental organisations to matters relating to or involving youth development as required in the synergy perspective of Woolcock and Narayan (2000). The NYDA produced the *National Youth Policy 2009 – 2014*.

Effective developmental states are capable of planning ahead and making long-term strategic decisions beyond pragmatic responses. In planning ahead, the provinces are able to anticipate problems and mitigate risks earlier on, so that they are less reactive. National interest is at the core of a developmental state, and a move away from it could lead to “narrow sectional interests” (Turok, 2010). This position is further expanded upon in the National Development Plan (NDP) of South Africa which was endorsed by the cabinet and parliament recognising the need for a single over-arching plan (The Presidency, 2012). The National Planning Commission acknowledged that “South Africa has an urbanising, youthful population. This presents an opportunity to boost economic growth, increase employment and reduce poverty.... recognising that young people bear the brunt of unemployment, it adopted a “youth lens” in preparing its proposal” (NPC, 2010:20).

The Deputy Minister in the Presidency released the National Youth Policy 2015 – 2020 after the public consultation process and it was ratified in May 2015. The revised policy seeks to optimise the youth machinery for effective delivery and responsiveness. Taking into cognisance that approximately 25% of South Africans are unemployed, and nearly 70% of them are young people between the ages of 15 – 35 years old, it is evidently clear that the NYDA cannot be everything to youth development. This means that while the NYDA remains a major catalyst for youth development:

1. Government as a whole (nationally, provincially and at the local level) must spearhead youth development across all departments;
2. Business must also place youth development programmes at their centre of their business development and expansion strategies; and,
3. The youth development machinery must be consistent and youth development programmes must be located at the centre of transformation and the vision of the National Development Plan; which aims to bring about a prosperous and more equitable society by 2030.

This policy reflects the need for co-ordination and collaboration specifically with regard to government's internal social capital; but more importantly, it recognises the role of all stakeholders as purported in the synergy view.

The researcher has recognised that from the above mentioned frameworks, a solid policy foundation has been laid for implementers and practitioners to develop interventions and programmes for youth development.

2.8 Conclusion

The primary intent of this research study has been to showcase social capital as a contributor to youth development. In examining the findings of this survey, the researcher will respond to the hypothesis that youth have social capital and whether or not access to public sector programmes increase the youth's assets of social capital stock. This will require testing for the types of social capital.

The researcher has defined the concept as follows: "social capital is the institutions, relationships, norms and networks that shape the quality and quantity of society's social interventions and enable collective action".

The dimensions of social capital gave rise to the researcher using a framework for analysis based on four perspectives of social capital by Woolcock and Narayan (2000): the communitarian, networks, institutional and synergy views.

The backdrop of this research is the developmental state, which requires government to make interventions in the lives of the poor and vulnerable. The interventions have to take into account the Constitution's predisposition to a culture of human rights which requires consultation and responsive governance. The researcher in reviewing the literature preferred the ABCD approach posited by McKnight and Kretzmann (1993) because it places emphasis on community driven development.

In examining the literature, the researcher drew on the foundational writers, Coleman, Bourdieu and Putnam. Coleman discusses human capital development and focuses on education which is overlapped with social capital, in terms of outcomes and opportunities. The key element of Bourdieu's theory is the combination of the capitals looking at inequality and social justice, while honing in on the influence of power relations. The essential feature being that social capital without

economic opportunities will not bring about the required social change for development to take place.

Finally, Putnam explores the youth ecosystem through the influence of the community as significant in the provision of beneficial social capital. He critically focused on membership, and networks that propel economic and social change, and how these are linked to a government's investment in social change and community development.

The researcher set out to do a multiple level study and had to find a framework which could host the scope of a study that would encompass different dimensions and types of social capital, namely bonding, bridging and linking five proxy indicators to measure the accumulated stock of youth social capital.

The ABCD model of development focused on resources within communities as valuable assets as opposed to deficiencies. This empowered the community through a development approach which had consultation at every level in the interventions instead of the top-down approach. The researcher was able to connect the youth, in their many phases of development activities that the youth experienced with their families, spouses, friends and neighbours into Woolcock and Narayan's (2001) four perspectives in the communitarian view. The networks view was the range of sociable interactions through membership and participation; the institutional view was able to provide a space for analysis particularly for the role of the public sector in the youth's lives. Finally, the synergy view is the optimal state in which the collaborative partnerships that social capital presents to the youth would translate into beneficial opportunities through access and use.

The researcher has also presented studies showing that social capital is relevant to the research community in the Western Cape and South Africa as a whole, but most of those studies were done in a secondary context or single focus area. Those studies focused either on education, religious or health participation and outcomes. The social capital approach for implementing public sector programmes for the youth in poor communities has not yet been explored in the South African context. The findings of this study are to assess the current impact of social capital with a view to scale up the social capital to provide beneficial resources to youth in poor communities as envisaged by the synergy view. Youth surveys and the public sector research has tended to focus on policy and not on multi-level programmes based on a provincial developmental strategy.

The literature reviewed has revealed that policies provided for the youth have evolved since 1994, but implementing these policies, through the public sector interventions and programmes, has remained the challenge. The internal social capital used in the implementation of public sector

programmes that are aimed at youth development has not been studied. With this descriptive study, the researcher will unpack this challenge by seeking to find empirical evidence. This will be achieved firstly testing for the stock of the three types of social capital; and secondly, looking at the role of public sector staff, government communications, accessibility and programme relevance. Findings will provide guidelines for the public sector in respect of the following: staff transformation, review and evaluation of youth programmes, youth friendly interventions, youth consultation and a social capital formation checklist.

Finally, the stock of social capital will be measured using the proxy indicators; namely, institutional efficiency, membership and participation, norms of trust and reciprocity and social cohesion. The research process will constitute the content of Chapter Three.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The researcher selected to embark on a descriptive research journey, using the quantitative approach to engage this research. 9932 Youth between the ages of 15 to 25 years were sampled through the snowball and snake-root techniques and surveyed using a questionnaire, in the six selected areas, three nodal and three non-nodal areas. The snowball technique was used for the selection of participants for the discussion groups which informed the selection of the questions included in the questionnaire.

The research hypothesis is that the public sector is a key contributor to the significant stock of social capital among the youth in the Western Cape Province.

This chapter focuses on the research process and the methodology applied in the research process in order to answer the hypothesis and the research question: What is the nature and utilisation of stock of social capital among youth in the following six geographical areas of the Western Cape: Khayelitsha, Manenberg, Gugulethu, Mitchell's Plain, Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn? There are two levels this research targets. Firstly, focus is placed on honing in on the public sector programmes for youth and whether internal social capital exists through government programmes which contributes to the stock aggregate of youth social capital. Secondly, the stock is aggregated from different types of youth social capital, both internal and external.

The researcher used the quantitative research approach to address the above descriptive hypothesis. The data required to answer the research question was quantitative data collected through a survey of afore-mentioned youth in the six areas and a sample which was representative. In order to develop an appropriate data collection tool for the survey, the process was informed by group discussions which provided the researcher with information about the youth's understanding of social capital to inform the questionnaire.

The researcher used the following definition of social capital for this thesis: social capital is the institutions, relationships, norms and networks that shape the quality and quantity of society's social interactions and enable collective action. The definition comprises of the following dimensions of social capital: institutions, relationships, networks, norms, social interactions and collective action. These constructs could pose difficulties for measurement because some of them

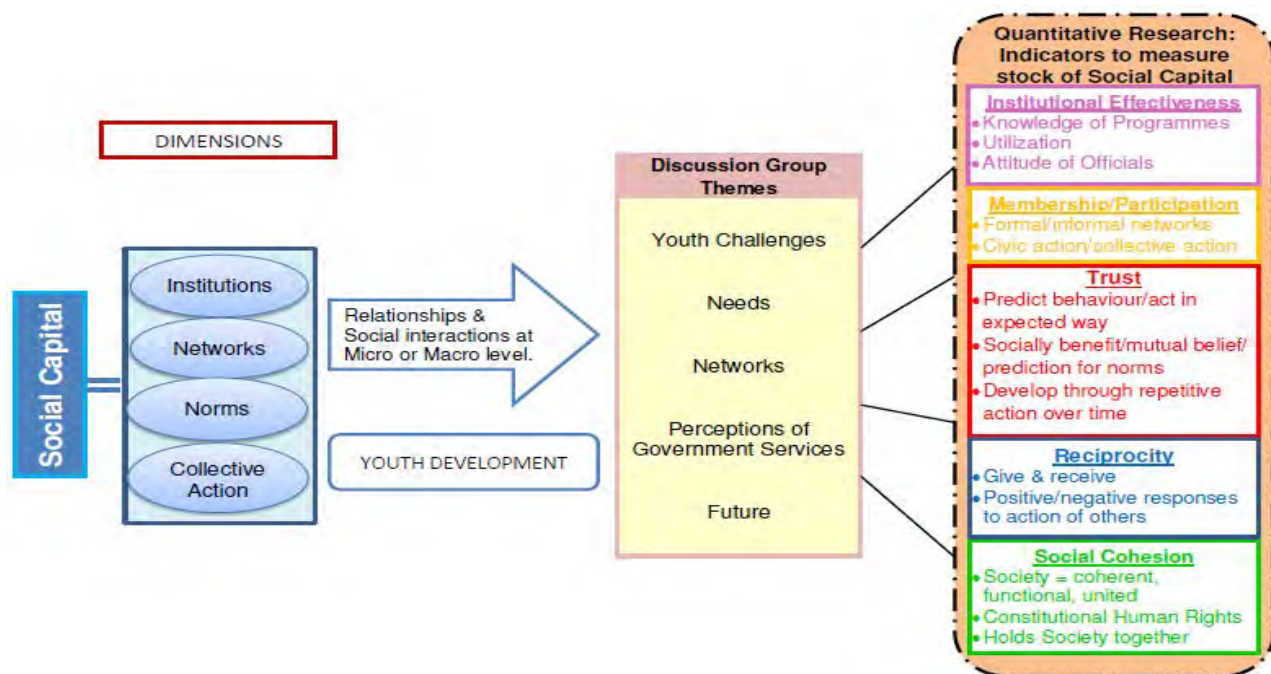
are inherently abstract and require interpretation which could lend itself to subjectivity in an attempt to translate it into operational measures. Narayan and Cassidy (2001) describe the use of indicators and proxy indicators as, “such operational measures are invariably indirect surrogates of their associated constructs”.

The **stock of social capital** is seen as networks, organisations and institutions that facilitate the formation of social capital. The size and capacity of social networks may affect overall stock of social capital (Stone, 2001: 16). Narayan and Cassidy state that social capital is relational because it exists only when it is shared. They further contend that “it is not simply an issue of the extent to which people are connected to others, but the nature of these connections” (2001:60). The stock of social capital in a community cannot be derived from adding up individual social capital but it can be identified in the strength or weakness of collective relationships within and across networks. In contrast to other forms of capital, the stock of social capital increases if it is used extensively (Sobel, 2002: 141-143). Trust and reciprocity further add to measurability through frequencies, value add, support and usage patterns. The researcher will use the following indicators: for institutions the indicator will be institutional effectiveness, for networks it will be membership and participation; for relationships and norms it will be trust and reciprocity as a result of social interactions and for collective action, the indicator will be social cohesion.

The institutions referred to in the definition represent both government departments and structures emanating from its funding as well as non-governmental institutions. The effectiveness and impact of these institutions lead to better social cohesion in communities. The effectiveness, utilisation and knowledge of particularly government services for the youth hinges on the stock of internal social capital demonstrated in the public sector programmes. The stock of social capital is dependent on how youth cohere in their communities. Bridging and linking social capital can be fostered in communities demonstrating high levels of social cohesion, inequality and high levels of crime corrodes social cohesion.

The researcher uses Figure 1 to depict the relationship between the definition of the research question, defined themes and the concepts. The diagram has to be read from the left to the right. The social capital definition chosen indicated that social capital comprises of those institutions, norms and networks that enabled through relationships and social interaction to facilitate collective action. The definition is thus closely linked to social development as indicated in the theoretical framework (Midgley, 1995). From the theories, the researcher developed four themes which were used in the discussion groups of the research in order to inform indicator development.

Figure 3.1: Relationship between the definition, research question, themes and concepts



Source: Gomulia & Petersen (2006)

The figure clearly indicates what the descriptive elements of study will be in terms of the indicators which will assist the researcher in the analysis of social capital.

The researcher using the definition developed themes linked to the research sub-questions.

Table 3.1 Link of research questions to the defined themes

Sub-question	Theme	Purpose
What are challenges youth face within certain geographical areas of the Western Cape Province?	Theme 1: Needs and challenges of youth	Identify the problems of the young people in the areas of the research
What kinds of social capital exist already?	Theme 1: Needs and challenges of youth Theme 2: Existing Youth Networks	These themes investigate the existing networks and government interventions in the areas.
What processes assist youth to access and develop the stock of social capital?	Theme 2: Existing Youth Networks Theme 3: Perceptions of government services	Through these themes it was possible for the researcher to find out in which areas youth already had access to social capital stock.
How youth use the existing stock of social capital in their areas?	Theme 2: Existing Youth Networks Theme 3: Perceptions of government services	Through these themes it was possible to test the youth's use of the existing social capital.
What opportunities do youth have for personal development in order to become a self-reliant and participative citizen?	Theme 4: Visioning their own future	Youth expressed their opinions about their opportunities and prospects.
Where are the gaps in public sector interventions that require the formation of social capital?	Theme 4: Visioning their own future	The responses were to inform the researcher where and how it was possible for government to intervene changing young people's lives in the Province.

The researcher also linked the themes to the research objectives.

Table 3.2 Link between the research objectives and the themes

Research objective	Link to themes
To audit the situation of youth	Theme 1, pre-research & literature, current programmes
To test the stock of social capital among the youth in selected representative areas of the Western Cape Province.	Outcome of theme 1: situational analysis/ Theme 2 & 3
To identify the process of youth engagement with social capital	Theme 2 & 3
To examine the youth patterns of usage of existing social capital	Theme 2 & 3 nodal, non-nodal = assumption, network patterns like gangs
To identify gaps in the public sector intervention	Theme 3/ Theme 4
To design a public sector intervention with emphasis on the youth	Theme 3/ Theme 4

The stock accumulation is dependent on the quantity and quality of the external social capital found predominantly in the Communitarian View (Theme 1, 2 & 4), Network View (Theme 2 & 3) and the Institutional View (Theme 1 & 2) in terms of non-governmental organisations as well as internal social capital on the macro level in terms of government's performance (Theme 3 & 4).

The four themes and the theory enabled the researcher to develop five indicators which have been operationalised as indicators or proxy-indicators because the dimensions of social capital could not be measured directly.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This section will give a brief overview of the research design, research methods and the sampling methods used for this research.

3.2.1 Research Design

The research design is commonly known as a blueprint or detailed plan of how the study is to be conducted (Thyer, 1993:94). Mouton (2004: 55) also defines the research design as "a plan or blueprint of how you intend conducting the research". For the posed research title, "The nature and utilisation of the stock of social capital among the youth in selected areas of the Western Cape Province", a quantitative social research approach will be used to measure social capital stock and its impact of the development of the youth in the six areas.

According to De Vos (1998) the research design has the following processes that the researcher needs to consider.

Deductive Reasoning: "Quantitative researchers use a deductive form of reasoning. Quantitative researchers take universal propositions and generalisations as points of departure" (De Vos, 1998:330). The researcher used deductive reasoning to inform the questions on the questionnaire. Neuman (2003:172) concurs with De Vos that, quantitative researchers primarily follow a deductive route. He further argues that, they begin with an abstract idea, followed with a measurement procedure, and end with empirical data that represents ideas.

Inductive Reasoning: Inductive reasoning helps researchers to understand a certain phenomenon within a particular context (De Vos, 1998:330). Babbie et al (2002:273) agrees that,

"Qualitative researcher normally takes an inductive approach to his or her object of study". Neuman (2003: 172) is also of the opinion that "Qualitative researchers primarily follow an inductive route. They begin with empirical data, follow with abstract ideas, relate ideas and data, and end with a mixture of ideas and data". Inductive reasoning was used in the discussion groups in implementing the thematic framework. This allowed the participants to give expression to their understanding of social capital and its impact.

Ontology: "The nature of reality and human behaviour. Questions will be answered differently by quantitative and qualitative researchers. The quantitative researchers believe in an objective reality, which can be explained, controlled, predicted by means of cause-effect. The quantitative researcher uses an etic perspective i.e. the meaning is determined by the researcher. People can be manipulated and controlled. Whereas, qualitative researchers use an emic approach to understanding reality.....i.e. derives meaning from the subject's perspective" (De Vos: 1998:242). The researcher tested the way youth responded to social capital issues in the discussion groups and then determined which questions would be included in the questionnaire.

"Ontology is the description of the concepts and relationships that exist for an agent or community of agents, a specification of a representational vocabulary for a shared domain of discourse - definition of classes, relations, functions and other objects is called ontology" (Gruber, 1993). This research study deals with a concept, social capital, and is measured by using proxy indicators which requires the testing of youth's understanding in order to engage them as participants.

Neuman (2011, 92) says "Ontology is an area of philosophy that deals with the nature of being, what exists, the area of philosophy that asks what really is and what the fundamental categories of realities are". This is evidenced in the different types of social capital; bonding, bridging and linking.

Epistemology: "The relationship of researchers to reality and the road that they will follow in the search for truth. The quantitative researcher can be objective as the researcher sees him/herself detached from the object studied. Whereas, the qualitative researcher is subjective because there is interaction with the subject" (De Vos, 1998: 242). This researcher initially, through the discussion groups, had interactions with the subject group to develop the survey tool. As this was an informant, she did not express herself on the full process of the discussion group engagement as this was a quantitative study and not a qualitative study.

Epistemology "is the philosophy of knowledge or how we come to know" (Henning et al, 2004: 15). Mouton (2001: 9) defines epistemology as the "quest for truthful knowledge". Bless et al (2006: 182) concur with the previous authors as they define epistemology as "The study of the different ways in which human beings develop and validate knowledge about themselves and the world".

The discussion group process was an informant of the language spoken by the youth in their understanding of social capital, public sector interventions, gaps and impact if any on their lives.

Methodology: "Is the know-how or scientific methods and techniques employed to obtain valid knowledge. Quantitative data collection methods include: questionnaires and surveys" (De Vos, 1998:242). Henning et al (2004:15) argues that, "Methodology is concerned with specific ways, the methods that we can use to try and understand our world better". Marczyk et al (2005: 22) is of the opinion that, methodology refers to the principles, procedures and practices that govern research. The researcher examined the different methodologies and techniques. Finally to answer the questions and sub-questions, she used the quantitative method of research.

Descriptive: A descriptive hypothesis can be defined as a hypothesis that guardedly describes behaviour in terms of its particular characteristics or the situation in which it occurs and is therefore not necessarily causal (Heiman, 2002). According to Heiman (2002) a descriptive hypothesis is not constructed with the aim of finding the reason behind a particular behaviour (causal relationship) but to explain that certain behaviours or phenomena do occur and can be measured.

Terre Blanche et al (2006) are of the opinion that the key aim in descriptive research is to describe a phenomenon. He further explains that descriptive research might try to describe the distribution of attributes in a population, the social practices of a particular group or simply a small scale event (Terre Blanche et al, 2006).

Bless et al (2006) indicates that descriptive research is where the researcher is merely interested in describing a phenomenon. They further went on to argue that the descriptive method is also used to test factual hypothesis or statements that do not relate to two or more variables but express facts about the world (Bless et: 2006: 43).

3.2.2 Quantitative Research Approach

The choice was made by the researcher to conduct the quantitative research through a survey and for this purpose the questionnaire was developed. The latter was developed considering the discussion group results and the theoretical framework as indicated above. In addition to the questionnaire development the sampling procedure as well as the preparation for the field work had to be completed. “Quantitative research is a formal, objective, systematic process in which numerical data was used to obtain information about the world. Quantitative research is used to describe variables, examine relationship between variables and to determine cause – and effect interactions between variables” (Burns et al, 2005:23). Marczyk et al, (2005) concur that, quantitative research is a formal and systematic process that uses statistical analysis to obtain their findings. This research will attempt to mimic the scientific approach used in natural sciences where the background literature and constructs outlined in Chapter 2 will be tested by observations from data that will be collected (Bryman, 2012).

3.2.3 Geographical Focus Areas

The Western Cape Province is divided into thirty one local government municipal structures. As previously stated the URP and the ISRDP gave rise to nodal areas in 1999. Indicators for nodal areas were high contact crime, unemployment, infrastructure backlogs and informal housing settlements. The focus of the ISRDP and URP was poverty alleviation in urban and rural areas (The Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2006).

The geographical nodal areas are Khayelitsha, Mitchell’s Plain and Beaufort West. The non-nodal comparable areas are Gugulethu, Manenberg and Oudtshoorn.

The opportunity created by the declaration of nodal areas, as previously stated, meant that focused government attention was paid to what National government termed the Western Cape’s poorest areas. The researcher then had to find similar areas representing a comparable group within this research.

3.2.4 Data Collection Methods

Discussion groups were used to inform the formulation of questions used on the survey tool. 188 Youth participated in the discussion groups. There were 98 males and 90 females in 16 group sessions. Discussion groups were conducted by trained social service professionals who were able to maintain a balanced, engaged and interactive group dynamic. The participation in the

discussion groups was voluntary and confidential. The advantages of discussion groups are that a wide range of information was gathered in a relatively short time span and the moderator could explore related but unanticipated topics as they arose in the discussions (American Statistical Association (ASA), 1997: 1-11).

For this research problem focusing on what is the nature and utilisation of social capital stock among youth in six geographical areas of the Western Cape, discussion groups was the first information gathering method used to inform the content of the questionnaire and youth accessible language.

The second data collection method was the **questionnaire**. The newsprints and the final presentation of each discussion group then formed the basis on which the questionnaire was developed for the quantitative phase of the research. 9932 Youth between the ages of 15 to 25 years were sampled through the snowball and snake-root techniques and surveyed using a questionnaire, in the 6 selected areas, 3 nodal and 3 non-nodal areas.

3.2.5 Sampling

According to Brynard and Hannekom (1996:43) sampling can be applied in a situation where the population to be studied is too large. The researcher has selected two sampling processes based on the 2 broad categories of probability and non-probability as the methods depends on the objectives of the study (McDaniel & Gates, 2004:276).

Snowball or chain reference sampling: The snowball sampling method used by the researcher is described as “One member of a group refers the researcher to others until an appropriate size of a group is reached. This method is specifically used in the context of a holistic understanding of the meanings of interconnected networks” (De Vos, 1998: 254).

This method falls into the non-probability category of sampling. This purposive sampling conforms to certain criteria and also sometimes referred to as convenient, time and cost effective (Cooper & Schindler, 2003:184).

A youth not for profit organisation, Certificate of Youth Trainers (CYT) based in Cape Town had a database of youth from socially excluded and vulnerable areas. This database was appropriate for the discussion groups that needed to be conducted to inform the questionnaire. Beaufort West Youth Forum was also used and concentrated on the administration of the rural discussion groups.

The aim of using the snowballing technique of selection was to achieve the most representative groups of youth in the discussion groups from their database consisting of networked youth and each young person brought along a friend to the group who was not involved in organised youth activities referred to as an un-networked youth.

The questionnaire was administered to a 5% sample using the Statistics South Africa Community Profile database to select the age group 15 to 25, stratified into two groups – age 15 to 19 years and 20 to 25 years (Census 2001). The 2011 Census showed an increase in the youth population from 1.8million to 2.5million for youth in the 15 to 25 years (STATSSA, 2014). The sample was further stratified for gender. The stratification will ensure that the sample proportionally represents each group of youth in the population (Bryman, 2012).

The population in the selected area was divided into clusters along the geographical boundaries. Neuman (2003: 224) defines a cluster as a unit that contains final sampling elements but can be treated temporarily as a sampling element itself. The results in all units within the sampled cluster were fully represented. In practical terms, for the study, each of 12 wards within Khayelitsha and six wards in Mitchell's Plain were demarcated into 10 supervisory units (SU). The cluster sampling method is the probability type based on the concept of random selection. It is a controlled procedure that ensures that each population element is given a known non zero chance of selection (Cooper & Schindler, 2003:183).

The street names falling in the SU's were pooled, and randomly selected for a starting point. After selection of the SU, the geographical '**snake-root' sample technique** (snake-root method) was used in order to find respondents corresponding with the sample drawn.

3.2.6 Data Analysis

The analysis of the quantitative research data was done with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). SPSS was utilized to produce presentable tables and graphs to underline the results. This section will present the data analysis in the order that is envisaged for the research starting with descriptive statistics of the respondents followed by the knowledge test scores (multiple choice scale) and lastly the Likert test scores used to measure perceptions of programmes, attitudes and behaviours. The Likert scale is used to "measure intensity of feelings" for example, "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", as well as "don't know" (Bryman, 2012). The Fischer exact test was also used to attribute certain elements contributed by the youth in responding to the questions (Cooper & Schindler, 1998:560; Babbie & Mouton, 2001:481; Bryman,

2012:166). Finally the results of the quantitative data were used to draw conclusions concerning the research problem.

3.2.7 Data Verification, Validity and Ethical Considerations

In order to ensure validity of the study, the researcher needed to constantly reflect on her role, which essentially was to provide guidance and lead the investigation. The researcher was aware of her own interpersonal world views and therefore she was aware of not enforcing her own opinions and views on the research process. In addition, the researcher had supervision from her supervisors at UCT.

The researcher has to avoid any bias. Many researchers opt for quantitative research to totally eliminate bias, this is particularly important in revealing the outcomes of the study, not reinforcing stereotypes and by remaining objective (Kumar, 1996:194; Daniel, 2011:1).

Trained field workers and supervisors assisted the researcher. The questionnaire as an instrument had also been piloted before implementing the survey. This was done to reduce risks in the administering of the questionnaire. Filter questions were also used to increase the quality of the survey process.

Validity is defined as the degree to which the researcher has measured what she has set out to measure. Validity further resides in the results and culmination of other empirical conceptions, universal law, objectivity, truth, actuality, deduction, reason, fact and mathematical data to name just a few (Smith, 1991:106; Mouton, 1996:111; Winter, 2000:20; Golafshani, 2003:599).

The key ethical considerations which the researcher has to comply with are voluntary participation, informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity. Polansky and Waller (2005:58) comment that there must be no coercion or deception when asking the respondents to participate, it is a voluntary process. They should be formally requested and it is important to get their informed consent before proceedings. Participants have the right to withdraw from the process without fear or negative consequences.

De Vos et al (2002:67) and Walliman (2005:342) state that within the introductory remarks the researcher should ensure that the fieldworkers clearly states that the participant is under no obligation and that the information solicited will remain confidential and/or anonymous.

3.3. DISCUSSION GROUPS

The discussion group method was chosen to inform the survey with regard to language that was accessible and frequently used by the youth. The discussion groups also provided the researcher with a consensus position of the participants' understanding of the themes linked to the dimensions and indicators. The aim is to enhance the reliability and the validity of the questionnaire responses which is critically dependent on the design of the questions. The extent to which the discussion group participants and the fieldwork training influenced the final questionnaire design is described in a report attached as Annexure G.

The researcher analysed the findings of the discussion groups using the themes: (1) needs and challenges of youth, (2) existing youth networks, (3) perceptions of government services, (4) visioning of their future. As a second step the researcher concentrated exclusively on the newsprints of the final sessions analysing it in relation to social capital. The responses belonging to a particular topic was grouped under one heading and thereafter translated into questions for the questionnaire.

Theme one: Needs and challenges of the youth.

The youth stated 33 elements in their description of challenges facing youth. The three main challenges were drug abuse, 15 out of 16 groups (each of the 8 discussion groups was divided into 2 age cohort groups, therefore 16 group reports) raised this, peer pressure was raised 13 times and teenage pregnancies were raised 12 times. Other issues raised were a lack of opportunities/recreation activities/finances and the impact of alcohol abuse. In terms of their needs, two key issues were presented, a need for education (14/16) and recreational facilities (11/16). In terms of their trust networks, the participants identified who they would most likely share their problems with, these were best friend (16/16); parent (12/16) and teacher (10/16).

These responses indicated how trust is exercised in these communities. It also identified an educator as a more trustworthy person to the youth than either grandparents or siblings.

Theme two: Existing youth networks

50% Of the groups stated that they used existing youth networks. Networks named were CYT, church youth structures and sport youth structures. This provided evidence for the snowballing

sampling technique. The 50% were those „networked“ participants who brought a non-networked friend, as requested by the researcher.

In response to the question whether they volunteer, giving evidence to the reciprocity indicator, the majority of the participants in three out of the 16 groups answered that they volunteered. In the debriefing sessions, the facilitators commented that volunteering was not common as many young people wanted something in return. This suggested low social capital among the youth but it could not be viewed in isolation. Some of the youth pointed out that they required more information in respect of opportunities to volunteer, demonstrating potential to volunteer.

Theme three: Perception of Government Services

The majority of the participants in 15 out of the 16 discussion group sessions agreed that they used government services. The services they used were as follows:-

Schools	(11/16)
Hospitals	(10/16)
S.A.P.S.	(9/16)
Libraries	(9/16)

The services that raised the most negativity among the youth were health services at community clinics and hospitals. In terms of whether government services are accessible and in line with youth needs, the majority, more than 80% of the groups responded by saying “no” to both these questions. The discussion groups already indicated problems with a lack of internal social capital in public sector services.

Theme four: Visioning of their future

The majority of the participants in 15 of the 16 groups were resoundingly confident about achieving their dreams for their future. The type of future careers raised by the 16 groups ranged from being police, lawyers and musicians to being small business entrepreneurs to a lesser extent.

The themes provided a structured guide for the discussion groups, allowing for inductive reasoning to be used (De Vos, 1988). The youth managed the questions very well. The team and the researcher were satisfied with the outcome of the first phase of the research.

The researcher wanted to reflect some of the interactions of the participants which left an impression with the facilitators.

The facilitators provided the following quotes of the participants' voices of theme four in the debriefing sessions:

"A problem shared is a problem halved." This was a quote from a participant who identified a gap in government services particularly the problems with resources.

"God is love and the philosophy of life." This participant was confident about his/her future prospects.

"You have to strive to reach your dreams." This statement underlined the fact that some youth understood that they would have to work to fulfill their dreams.

"Friendship is inter-linked with unity, without unity there is no future". This quote demonstrated that youth, while confident about their future, felt that it could not be done without help and support, in this instance of their friends who formed a significant network for them.

The newsprints and the final presentation of each group was then the basis on which the questionnaire was developed for the quantitative phase of the research. The discussion groups highlighted which issues and topics were important to the youth in the selected areas and which of these would be deepened through the quantitative research phase. The issues and topics mentioned above were the lack of family and parental support, education and finding employment.

3.4. THE SURVEY PROCESS

This section will focus on the questionnaire as the survey tool to achieve the quantitative research approach. The content will include the questionnaire design, sampling for the survey process, training of the fieldworkers, logistics with regard to the fieldwork and challenges associated with the fieldwork process.

3.4.1 QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

1. After the analysis of the data gathered during the discussion groups, the questionnaire was designed. The discussion groups were used to identify the specific areas and issues to focus on in the quantitative research. The theoretical background and other research projects provided the researcher with additional information for the questionnaire design. The researcher followed the guidelines suggested in the social science literature for the design of the questionnaire. Neuman (2003: 269) indicates that the principles of question writing are illustrated in the 10 things to avoid when writing survey questions. Some of the things that needed to be considered when constructing a questionnaire are as follows:

- Avoid jargon, slang and abbreviations

- Avoid ambiguity, confusion and vagueness
- Avoid double-barrel questions
- Avoid leading questions
- Avoid double questions.

Leading questions, complex questions and negative questions need to be avoided in the questionnaire (Neuman, 2003). Leading questions are phrased in a way that the desired answers are already suggested or implied. Complex questions refer to questions which are long and phrased with long interwoven sentence structures. Q 16 is one example of a short question with simple wording “Do you agree or disagree with the following statement. I enjoy living in this area” (Annexure F)

Simplicity is the greatest challenge in designing a questionnaire, because the issues and topics of a survey are complex and complicated, but they have to be reduced to simple concepts, simple behaviour and simple words. Titscher (2000: 230) defines simplicity as a “method that becomes simpler to the extent to which it’s theoretical basis and the procedures, instruments and rules it employs become less complex”. It is important that the questions are formulated in an appropriate way so that the selected respondents are able to understand the questions. Payne (1951) and Titscher (2000) recommend that simple phrasing and wording facilitate a climate in which the respondents are more willing to cooperate. The questionnaire designed for this study considered the language and wording used by the youth in the discussion groups. In addition, the field workers who administered the survey were well trained and prepared to do the survey so that they could assist with any misunderstanding of concepts and words used in the questionnaire.

The questionnaire design was a complex task with various groups (DSD researchers, population specialists, strategic planners, SC programme manager, social workers and the researcher) involved. The main informant remained the youth who participated in the discussion groups. Whilst the researcher adapted the questionnaire to include youth language, she also encountered some difficulties identified by the team during the discussion groups, particularly with understanding some of the themes. Clarity had to be given, for example, the context of social cohesion, which helped the researcher to develop the questions. In the discussion groups the participants were asked „What are the challenges youth face today?“ This question was then adapted for inclusion in the questionnaire as Q17 indicating the value of this approach to the research process on more than one level. The initial list of challenges were limited to 12 potential issues, it was then expanded to 16 issues. Another example was question 2.1 of the discussion group guide. This

question was then split into various questions asking the interviewees directly about particular networks, for example family and friends as well as broader community networks.

During the training of the fieldworkers (described in detail below) one of the suggested changes was the need for definitions to be added to the questionnaire. The interaction between the team that designed the questionnaire, the fieldwork trainers and the fieldworkers themselves guided the process to develop the final version of the questionnaire.

Most of the questions used in the questionnaire were closed questions where the responses are categorised so that the fieldworker only has to fill in the number code which was easier to handle and made the process of collection faster. In addition, the consistency of codes in all questions using the same scale, for example „Yes = 1, No = 2“ was taken into consideration. Whilst designing the questionnaire the researcher also had to keep in mind the analysis of the data. The researcher had to be aware of the way in which the data was going to be processed and analysed so that appropriate questions were asked in the survey.

In the questionnaire a filter question was used for expediency. If a respondent responded with a „no“ there would be more than one follow up. The respondent would then be directed to the next block of questions. If the respondent answered with a „yes“ they would go through the whole block. This saved the respondent's time and avoided having to answer something that was not applicable to him/her.

The recording and identification of each questionnaire was important especially as a large number of respondents were surveyed. The individual questionnaire number on every questionnaire ensured the clear identification of every respondent. Sections C to F of the questionnaire related to one theme at a time so that the respondent was able to follow.

As indicated in chapter one, the research was part of the departmental research on social capital. Therefore the questionnaire was designed to obtain answers on other areas of importance specifically for the use of the department. This was evident in the first section pertaining to demographic data of households. But the major part of the questionnaire was derived through the analysis of the discussion groups to guarantee that the research followed the proposed focus. In addition, the researcher included questions and aspects that were important to feed into the analysis of the theoretical concepts and consider the actual stock of the social capital. The structure of the questionnaire had to address the chosen proxy indicators of institutional efficiency,

membership and participation, trust, reciprocity and social cohesion. Later in this chapter, it is explained how the questions are related to the results of the discussion groups. Some questions were included to inform several proxy indicators. In addition, the consistency of the respondents was tested by inserting a similar question in different sections of the questionnaire.

The pilot phase was used to show whether the questionnaire was an appropriate instrument to be used with youth (see fieldworker training). Changes were effected to Q33 for the following reason. The research team indicated that three questions be combined into one question Q33 because it was cumbersome for the fieldworkers. In addition, the table of Q38.1 to Q38.3 was initially split into 3 different questions which were then changed to a single table. The fieldworkers found that if changes had not been made, it would have led to errors in the interview process.

The cover sheet of the questionnaire had a dual function. Firstly, it acted as a reporting system to keep track of the sample. Since the sample was stratified in terms of area and age group the cover page was used by the fieldwork team to report on the sample realisation (geographical area, ward number, age category of respondent and type of settlement). Although the interview was approached in a strictly confidential manner, the physical addresses of respondents were captured in order to allow for random check backs as a mechanism to control for quality and thus ensure the reliability of the data. In the introductory phase of the survey process the potential respondents were informed of all these issues to ensure their voluntary participation. Indicating place of residence also allowed for comparative analysis by comparing responses of respondents within nodal and non-nodal areas. Household size was captured to give the department and the researcher a more holistic view of the respondent's position, in the family or household, for example, a grandchild living with grandparents or a foster child.

3.4.1.1 Questionnaire Order:

Section A captured **demographic data** of all members that formed part of the household of the selected respondent. The capturing of demographic data was important so that the researcher could analyse the data considering the context of the respondents. It facilitated the possibility of looking for possible profiles regarding respondents and the type of responses given in the questionnaire. This section provided the researcher with information (particularly Q5, Q6, and Q7) of the composition and structure of the family, deepening the researcher's knowledge of the bonded social capital networks, in line with the Communitarian and Network perspectives.

Section B (Q 9-13) related to the educational background of the respondent and tested the perception of the importance of education in effecting the social capital available to a young person. The question on the highest level of education (Q9) allowed for analysis in comparing responses of respondents regarding social capital indicators by educational level. Q10 was used to indicate whether the person was at school or not, which would help to indicate school drop outs versus those who have successfully completed their school career. In Q13 the respondents were asked to state their opinion about school and work. This question explored the perceptions youth have of the value of education. This question resulted from the discussion group process.

Section C (Q 14-16.3) captured data on labour. The first two sub-questions of Q14 related to the respondents current employment status and sector of employment for those who were employed at the time of the survey. Q14.2 to 16.2 captured the networks used by the youth to enter the job market and also tested for networks identified by respondents to support them in their job search. Information was gathered to understand whether scaling or linking up social capital was being utilised for resource acquisition. Q16.3 aimed at testing if a lack of social capital results in young people not looking for employment.

Although **sections A, B and C all contain demographic data** these sections were kept separate in order to assist in the flow of the questionnaire. By separating sections A and B, it was easier for the fieldworkers to go from demographic data pertaining to the household (section A) to items only directed towards the young respondents (section B). Data on education and labour was then captured in separated sections (B and C) primarily to assist the fieldworkers to conduct an interview that flows logically from the one theme to the next. These 2 sections also predominantly fall into the institutional perspective.

Section D (Q 17-20) of the questionnaire dealt with social cohesion. Relating back to the definition of social cohesion which is about the extent to which society is able to hold together through rules, laws, etc., Q 16 asked the respondents to give an indication of the level to which they enjoyed living in the area they are staying in. Social cohesion is a proxy indicator for collective action because it refers indirectly to the extent to which a person perceives social justice and experiences service delivery satisfaction. Q 17 and Q18 referred to the challenges youth indicated in the discussion groups that they are confronted with in their daily lives in the Western Cape Province. In the discussion groups the youth mentioned 33 elements. The most frequently identified were placed in the questionnaire. Through the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) the

researcher was also able to identify certain patterns between the nodal and non-nodal areas. In addition, it pointed to where possible lacks of social cohesion in the living environment of the youth in the selected areas. Q 19 addressed networks which were built through social cohesion. The major issues raised were under the needs of young people, particularly by the older group, was a need for recreational facilities. In the questionnaire the researcher wanted to gather more specific information on the quality issue with regard to facilities that exist. This is particularly relevant to the nodal vs. non-nodal area discussion. Q 20 was the transformation of some issues raised in the discussion groups into a question that related to the challenges in the aspect of who to trust in coping with problems. In addition, it referred to reciprocity towards others and social cohesion as it is the basis to build up trust and common norms. In the discussion groups these role players were identified as people they would turn to in a problem situation. The questionnaire tested this aspect to assess if it would still have the same outcome as it had in the discussion groups which clearly identified the best friend as the key role player to discuss problems with. This section resonates with the communitarian perspective.

Section E (Q 21-27) dealt with **youth networks and participation**. Testing the patterns of youth networks, bonding social capital inside the family and the circle of friends were first tested in the questionnaire. These questions (Q21-22) had one foundation question in the discussion groups. These questions spoke to the indicators of trust and aspects of reciprocity. It addressed bonding networks with family and friends. The questions that followed referred to the possibilities of bridging and partly scaling up of social capital, even though the questionnaire focused on the aspect of scaling up later again in the questionnaire after the issues of political and institutional trust were addressed. The discussion groups solicited types of networks. The analysis of these questions will reside in the network view. From the results of the discussion groups, the researcher was able to indicate which the most important networks were for young people and thus testing these now on a larger scale in the questionnaire. Q 21 to 24 addressed the networks used by the youth. Networks are an outcome of norms for collective action, the trust one has in others and in institutions. The focal point of the questions was on positive networks. These were formulated in a manner to find out which of networks were in place and what kinds of networks were still needed. Q 21 and Q 22 addressed reciprocity in a more indirect way asking about the giving and receiving between family and friends. Q 23 and 24 were formulated to test the patterns of youths' associational life. Negative networks are also part of the young people's lives as was shown in the discussion groups. Q 25 referred to the negative networks raised by the discussion group participants.

The responses to Q 26 were important in order to assess whether government information intended for the youth reaches the targeted group. Here the aspect of scaling up was taken into consideration. Q27 focused on youth's political behaviour regarding public participation which was tested as a proxy indicator of norms for collective action. Relating back to the theoretical concepts, social capital is also seen by some authors as promoting public participation in order to see the scaling up of social capital through their involvement in public policy. The researcher aimed to test to what extent existing social capital among youth actually led to better public participation. Q 27 enquired about volunteering and participation derived from the reciprocity indicator. These questions are trying to assess if there is synergy, as per the Woolcock and Narayan's (2000) perspective.

Trust was the focal point of **Section F** (Q 28-30). The theoretical framework of this study indicated that **trust** is one of the most important features of social capital. Therefore, trust was one of the themes in the discussion groups and was therefore included in the questionnaire. The researcher was able to deepen her insights into different levels of trust among the youth through this quantitative study. Q 28 referred to the general trust in people in relation to societal rules. Q 29 addressed trust in persons that played a role in the young person's life. Through this type of question the researcher in the analysis would be able to draw conclusions about youth's level of trust.

In the discussion groups in Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain and Manenberg, there had been a wide disjuncture between youth and community relations. This was evidenced in the discussion groups where youth in those areas identified closely with their families and parents but felt mistrust when it came to the community they resided in because of high levels of crime and gangsterism among others. In the rural areas, Oudtshoorn and Beaufort West, the youth perceived a lack of understanding between themselves and their own parents (Q 30) leading to levels of mistrust. This is closely associated with instances of parental neglect as a result of alcohol abuse and unemployment as experienced by the researcher in her work. Therefore, in this question the aspect of bridging social capital was explored in greater depth. It also reflects on the communitarian view in relation to the youths' perspective of their social interaction in their communities.

Section G (Q 31-37) raised **issues of political and institutional trust**. As mentioned before, this part focused on the linking up functions of social capital through vertical networks. Vertical networks referred to relations that go beyond the family and link them to formal institutions and

organisations (Gittell & Vidal, 1998). The responses to these questions indicated the perceptions of young people about government and government services. The questions helped to gather information about where and how government could intervene to enable social capital to flourish. In addition, these questions provided an impression of where existing government interventions were creating or supporting negative social capital. The researcher in this section was testing for the institutional efficiency indicator and the trust indicator. In the discussion groups, three key departments namely Department of Health, South African Police Services and Home Affairs were mentioned. Testing the latter on a larger scale, including the other departments of the social cluster, provided the researcher with the opportunity to get an overview of the perceptions and trust in government services and government staff of young people in the areas selected. This part of the questionnaire was designed to give guidance to potential interventions that could emerge from the research results. Whilst the institutional perspective is relevant in this section, the researcher will check if as a result of internal social capital within the government sector synergy can be found.

The final part of the questionnaire **Section H** (Q 38-40) dealt with questions about the **trust of the young people** in their future which related back to theme 4. As in the discussion groups, the young people were asked to indicate their perception about their future. The questions formulated addressed important aspects of the youth's future lives with regard to work and education. This part the questionnaire again addressed another layer of trust – trust in the future and trust in their own ability to achieve their future goals. Furthermore the questions generated answers with regard to the extent to which young people had internalised societal norms. The questions also assessed patterns of behaviour. Responding to the last question, the respondents could show their own confidence in how to achieve things in life. The researcher in Table 3.3 gives samples of the questions in the questionnaire linked to the indicators of social capital to be measured.

The original questionnaire was developed in English and then translated by the DSD translation section into Xhosa and Afrikaans. Only English questionnaires were completed in the field. The Xhosa and Afrikaans questionnaires were used as a reference to assist the fieldworkers in data gathering and quality control of the research. The fieldworkers had the English version of the questionnaire to record the responses while conducting the interviews in Xhosa or Afrikaans. This caused delays particularly with the Xhosa interviews in completion of the questionnaires because the language, English, has complex terms requiring more in depth explanations for a single sentence.

Table 3.3: Types of questions linked to indicators

Indicators to measure social capital	Types of Questions	Scale of Measurement
Institutional Effectiveness		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Knowledge of the programmes Utilization Attitude of officials 	Q35. If you could rate government services, how would you rate the following departments? (11 departments provided for rating)	Very good (1); Good (2); Average (3); Poor (4); Very poor (5); No direct experience (6)
	Q36. Based on your experience, how would you rate the staff of these departments? (same departments as above)	Very good (1); Good (2); Average (3); Poor (4); Very poor (5); No direct experience (6)
Membership/Participation		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formal/informal networks Civic action/Collective action 	Q25. Are you a member of, or do you participate in any of the following associations, organizations or clubs? (10 options provided)	Yes (1); No (2)
	Q30. Sometimes community members take action to show their concern for an issue. Please tell me if you have taken part in any of the following actions in the past 24 months. (10 options provided)	Never (1); No, but would if I had a chance (2); Yes, once (3); Yes, often (4)
Trust		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Predict behaviour/act in expected way Socially benefit/mutual belief or prediction of norms Develop through repetitive action over time 	Q20. + Q21. Do you have a family member/friend with whom you have a special trusting relationship?	Yes (1); No (2)
	Q34. How much do you trust the following sectors? (10 government officials options given)	A lot (1); A little (2); Not very much (3); Not at all (4); No direct experience (5)
Reciprocity		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Give and Receive Positive/Negative responses to actions of others 	Q18.1. Do you offer your help or time to help people other than your family (i.e., going to the shop for older people, babysitting, watering gardens)	No, never (1); No, but would if I had a chance (2); Yes, but only if I know the person (3); Yes, in general (4)
	Q31.3. People in your area will generally help each other.	Strongly agree (1); Agree (2); Disagree (3); Strongly disagree (4); Don't know (5)
Social Cohesion		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Society coherent, functional, united Constitutional human rights Holds society together 	Q16. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "I enjoy living in this area"	Strongly agree (1); Agree (2); Disagree (3); Strongly disagree (4)
	Q31.6. People who move to this area and speak the same language are easily accepted into the community opposed to people who speak a different language	Strongly agree (1); Agree (2); Disagree (3); Strongly disagree (4); Don't know (5)

Source: Petersen, 2015

3.4.2 SAMPLING AND LOGISTICS OF THE FIELDWORK

The following paragraphs present, firstly, the sampling and secondly, the logistics and training that was organized beforehand. Morra-Imas and Rist (2009) “Sample size is a function of the size of the population of interest, the desired confidence level and the desired level of precision”. The sample size of the research was 5% of the youth in the areas selected which amounted to 9716 young people. Conducting research with this number of participants required a project planning approach to be applied to the fieldwork.

3.4.2.1 SAMPLING

Besides the logistical aspects, the sampling procedures had to be followed to collect the data needed. A sample is a subset of a population selected to represent the whole population in some way. The population is the set of elements of interest, for example, people, events, objects, areas, or animals. When studying the properties of the population, it is usually impossible to examine every element in the population, and it becomes desirable to choose a sample from the population, and to make inferences about the properties of the population from the characteristics of the sample. (Creswell, 2003: 156-157; Bryman, 2012:5-8). For the study the researcher sampled youth in the identified nodal and non-nodal areas.

There are a number of ways of selecting a sample from a population. When the researcher considered which sampling method she would use, she had to bear in mind whether the scheme could produce a random sample, how much it would cost, how long it would take, and how convenient it would be for persons being questioned. Six areas were purposefully selected for the study. Three were chosen because these were Presidential Nodal areas – Khayelitsha, Mitchell’s Plain and Beaufort West. The other three areas were chosen as non-nodal areas - Gugulethu, Manenberg and Oudtshoorn.

A 5% sample using Census 2001 data from the Statistics South Africa Community Profile databases², were drawn from the age group 15 to 25, stratified into two groups – age 15 to 19 years and 20 to 25 years. The sample was further stratified for gender. The youth population in these six areas increased during the 2011 Census to 216 444 and 5% of that demonstrates 10 822 more than it was in the 2001 Census (STATSSA, 2014).

2. Statistics South Africa Website: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/census01/htm/default.asp>

Table 3.4 Sample size and age cohorts according to areas selected

Area	15 – 19 years	20 – 25 years	Total
Beaufort West	156	138	295
Oudtshoorn	225	199	424
Khayelitsha	1 861	2 468	4 329
Gugulethu	379	524	903
Mitchell's Plain	1 413	1 873	3 286
Manenberg	244	235	479
Total	4 278	5 438	9 716

The method of cluster area random sampling was applied. Titscher (2000: 238) defines cluster sampling as a “form of multi-stage sampling and denotes a procedure in which the sample focuses not on individual elements but on clusters”. In cluster sampling, the following steps were required. The population in the selected area was divided into clusters along the geographical boundaries. Neuman (2003: 224) and Cooper and Schindler (2003:183) define cluster as a unit that contains final sampling elements but can be treated temporarily as a sampling element itself. The results in all units within the sampled cluster were fully represented. In practical terms, for the study, each of 12 wards within Khayelitsha and six wards in Mitchell's Plain were demarcated into 10 supervisory units (SU). Each of the seven wards in Gugulethu and the three wards in Manenberg were demarcated into three SUs as the population size was smaller hence a smaller sample.

For Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn, the Local Government Department did not provide the researcher with ward numbers and maps so the research team used the Census place names in order to demarcate the areas into three SU's each.

The SU was defined according to census standards (Census, 2001). Therefore, each SU had no more than 150 dwelling units. In determining the actual size of the SU the sample sizes of the targeted areas was then divided by the number of wards within that targeted area.

For the demarcation process a spatial grid (Census 2001) was placed over a ward or place. Depending on the number of supervisors assigned to a ward or place there would be an equal number of grid blocks. A grid block was randomly assigned to each supervisor, thus a grid block represented one SU. The SU's were further demarcated along roads making access to the target area easier for field staff.

Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha were divided into ten SUs each. Gugulethu, Manenberg, Oudtshoorn and Beaufort West were divided into three supervisory units. The street names falling in the SU's were pooled, and randomly selected for a starting point. After selection of the SU, the geographical „snake-root“ sample technique (snake-root method) was used in order to find respondents corresponding with the sample drawn. The field staff were trained to apply in their SU's the snake-root method with an interval of four sticking to the left. They could choose their own starting point but they had to follow the snake-root method. Depending on the geographical area of the unit they would either use an interval of four dwelling units or four streets. The snake root method involved walking up one street sticking to the left until the end of the street, then making a u-turn walking down the same street. After one street had been covered by the field staff team, the team proceeded to the 4th street or dwelling unit on the left. If the respondent refused to participate or was not at home, the fieldworker had to substitute one house to the left.

If targets were not met, i.e. the particular age cohort numbers were not matched, field staff were instructed to revisit the SU and start sampling at the same starting point as before and sample the dwelling unit immediately after the first dwelling unit following the same sampling technique till the target age cohort numbers were reached.

3.4.2.2. TRAINING OF THE FIELDWORKERS

Field staff had to be recruited and trained to conduct the survey. The District Offices of DSD conducted the recruitment processes from the database of youth who were registered for the District Office youth programmes. Young people aged between 18 and 25 years with a minimum requirement being a Matric Certificate were eligible for selection. The interviewing, selection and placement of the field staff was done by the District Offices. The Internship Programme of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) was used as framework for the recruitment, selection and placement of the interns as field staff (Department of Public Works, 2000). The commitment to the EPWP framework obliged the research unit:

- to employ unemployed youth in the poor areas of the Western Cape
- to provide them with accredited training for their CV
- to skill and empower them
- to put them in a temporary working environment after the training
- to pay them a stipend

Due to logistical considerations and the type of knowledge that had to be transferred, the training of the fieldworkers took place on four separate occasions. The fieldworkers were trained in survey methodology as well as being provided with an understanding of the context of the study. Two

training sessions were conducted in the Cape Metropole; one session with fieldworkers recruited from Gugulethu and Khayelitsha (Xhosa/English) and the other one with fieldworkers recruited from Mitchell's Plain and Manenberg (Afrikaans/English). The Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn fieldworkers were trained on separate occasions. Since the groups were small enough both Xhosa/English and Afrikaans/English speaking fieldworkers were trained at the same time in these two areas.

The training was facilitated by the Research and Population Development Directorate of the DSD and „Data Desk“ which is part of the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology of the University of Stellenbosch. The researcher decided to conduct the training in cooperation with the latter institute so that the course could be accredited and the fieldworkers could benefit in terms of qualifications and job skills.

The duration of the training was seven days in the Metro and five days in Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn respectively. This variation in the duration of the training was a result of the size of the training group with fewer days needed for the smaller groups. Due to the different sample sizes for the different areas, one hundred and ninety five fieldworkers were trained to conduct interviews, one hundred and sixty four in the metro, fifteen in Beaufort West and sixteen in Oudtshoorn.

The content of the training can be summarized as follows:

- Short introduction to the concept „social capital“ and the background to and purpose of the study
- Basic introduction to survey research
- Practice of interviewing
- In-depth understanding of each item in the questionnaire

All trainees were briefed on the aim of the study, the discussion groups for the study (i.e. strict adherence to the age groups) and the logistics of the process of the fieldwork. The concept of social capital was explained in theoretical as well as in more practical/everyday terms.

During the discussion on survey research and the preparation of the interviewing process, the following topics were covered:

- Different interview/survey types (face-to-face interviews, telephone surveys, postal surveys and electronic surveys)
- General rules/principles in face-to-face interviews

- Guidelines for conducting an interview (i.e. issues of confidentiality, interviewer bias, selection/locating of respondent, motivating respondent to take part in study, clarifying concerns of respondent, how to ask questions from the questionnaire, and concluding the interview)
- The importance of the questionnaire as the primary tool to guide and structure the interview
- The importance of the correct application of sampling methods as well as sampling method itself

The main part of the training was, however, reserved for training in the administration of the questionnaire. In order to ensure the quality of the data collected, it was of utmost importance that fieldworkers had an in-depth and exact understanding of each item in the questionnaire. After the completion of every section trainees had to practice asking the question, making sure they understood the meaning of the questions as well as the options available for selection. To further ensure a good understanding of the questionnaire, trainees were sent out to conduct an interview with a person that falls within the group under investigation. All pilot questionnaires were checked by the trainer and handed back to the trainees for discussion during the training.

In order to qualify as a fieldworker, it was expected of trainees to attend the full week of training and complete the practical exercises required during training. With the completion of the training, trainees had to pass a test with a score of at least 70% in order to qualify as a fieldworker for the project. The training material was accredited by the University of Stellenbosch and all trainees, who successfully completed the training course and thus qualified as fieldworkers, received a certificate of competency from „Data Desk“ of the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology of the University of Stellenbosch. In total 32 supervisors and 160 fieldworkers completed the training successfully.

3.4.2.3. LOGISTICS

Besides the human resources, additional logistics were organised. Workstations had to be arranged and equipped in each area for the period in which the field research was conducted. These workstations were organised by the district offices of the DSD. It was required that these offices had electricity, internet connection and telephones. In addition, vehicles were needed to cover all the areas identified for the fieldwork process. The District Offices had insufficient vehicles for a project of this nature.

Therefore the fleet was supplemented by hiring additional vehicles. A total of approximately 46 vehicles were used in the project by Head Office, District Office and Project staff. The hired vehicles were not allowed to be driven by persons who were not in possession of a valid driver's license for a period of at least two years. This resulted in difficulties in finding sufficient fieldworkers who met this criterion. This resulted in the recruitment of a number of dedicated drivers from DSD staff.

Airtime for the fieldworkers was purchased for safety purposes. Almost all the fieldworkers had "Pay-as-you-go" phones, and it was possible to provide airtime vouchers. Once-off amounts of R30 per fieldworker and R60 per supervisor were provided.

Furthermore, catering for the training sessions as well as accommodation for the Head office staff in Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn was arranged.

3.4.3. FIELDWORK

Once the training sessions had been finalised, the questionnaire approved in consultation with UCT supervisors and the logistics organised, the field staff went out into the field. Neuman (2003: 368) says "fieldwork means involvement and detachment" and further argues that the researcher switches perspectives and sees the setting from multiple points of view simultaneously. A group of five fieldworkers plus one supervisor covered one unit. The field staff had approximately two days to complete one ward or place. The street names falling in the SU's were pooled, and randomly selected for a starting point. After selection of the SU, the field staff used the sample technique (snake-root method) in which they had been trained.

To ensure the quality of the survey report, a supervisor was placed in each area during the field work process. A Head Office Directorate, Research and Population Development employee worked at each of the District Offices to directly manage the fieldwork. This ensured that the supervisors had a contact person if any problems were experienced. In addition, the staff of the Head Office also had to do quality checks on the completed questionnaires. If there were any problems with questions or if fieldworkers did not complete the questionnaire correctly they were debriefed in morning sessions.

In addition to the Head Office supervisors, District Office Coordinators were nominated to support the project logistically. Each District Office was requested to appoint a coordinator from the existing staff with whom the Directorate could liaise with regard to the logistics for the fieldwork.

The departmental task team started the field work in the six selected areas (Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Oudtshoorn, Beaufort West, Manenberg and Gugulethu) on 20 March 2006 and it was finalised by 5 May 2006. This also included the process of going back to the areas where a gap in terms of numbers of completed questionnaires was identified. The number of questionnaires completed was 9932, 216 more than the initial sample size of 9716. The reason for the additional 216 was that some of the age cohorts were under sampled so that the fieldworkers had to go back and conduct additional interviews in some of the areas. This was done to try and achieve an almost equal number in the two age cohorts used in this study.

Table 3.5 Sample size per area and number of questionnaires completed

Areas	Sample	Questionnaires completed
Khayelitsha	4329	4449
Gugulethu	903	918
Mitchell's Plain	3286	3302
Manenberg	479	503
Beaufort West	295	320
Oudtshoorn	424	440
TOTAL	9716	9932

Source: Survey Data

3.4.4. CHALLENGES OF THE FIELDWORK PROCESS

The fieldwork was successfully completed but there were challenges that the task team faced.

Perverse Incentives

The payment structure of the fieldwork created some perverse incentives in the fieldwork process. The fieldworkers received an amount equal to R1 200 per month or pro-rata thereof. Although a target of at least six to seven questionnaires per day was set, fieldworkers employed delaying tactics to keep the daily average at about four. The longer the fieldwork took, the more the fieldworkers were paid. For future research, it would be more prudent to remunerate the fieldworkers per completed questionnaire and not on a basis of the time taken.

Some of the nominated district office coordinators claimed overtime for their work on the project because the research was an additional project to the official's regular work. Some of the work required of the coordinators took place after normal working hours because the fieldwork often continued till 18:00 in the evening. A perverse incentive to extend the project for as long as

possible to qualify for more overtime was experienced at two District Offices requiring a Head Office intervention to manage the problem.

Safety and Security

The research was conducted in areas where there was a high incidence of crime. Two vehicles were stolen during the fieldwork, one involving a hi-jacking. A number of areas, especially in Manenberg and Mitchell's Plain, were "no go" areas as a result of gang warfare during the fieldwork process. Two fieldwork teams in Mitchell's Plain encountered gang activity and were threatened with knives and a firearm. Counseling had to be arranged for the hi-jack victim and the two teams in Mitchell's Plain.

Fieldwork staff

Throughout the whole process, fieldworkers as well as supervisors dropped out mostly due to other employment offers. By the end of the survey, the number of fieldworkers had dropped to 128 from 160 but the number of supervisors remained at 32. The survey coordination team ensured that the number of supervisors remained constant. Every time a supervisor dropped out, a fieldworker was promoted and trained to become supervisor.

Payments

A major problem was experienced with the payment of service providers – caterers during training, airtime providers, and other services that were procured at District Office level by the District Office, but paid for by the Directorate Research and Population Development at Head Office. Paperwork was incomplete and correct procedures were not always followed. Often, the invoices reached Head Office two months after service delivery. This resulted in a number of disgruntled service providers who got paid late. Some payments were further delayed because the Directorate had to correct the incorrect paperwork.

3.5. UNINTENDED POSITIVE CONSEQUENCES OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The research was not only to gather appropriate data to answer the main research questions but also to capacitate and empower young (unemployed) people concurrently, through this reciprocal process. The research design considered ethical standards (see section 1.8 in Chapter 1) as a requirement for the youths' participation in this study. Young people benefitted from the research process, so this research had an immediate impact on young people's lives even before the end results of the survey were transformed into recommendations and possible interventions.

Aside from being an indirect investment in the youth of the province by collecting information on relevant issues, the project also had a very direct youth development approach by taking young people from the six geographical areas as fieldworkers for the project. In total 192 young people were accredited for the training as fieldworkers, including the supervisors. The accreditation of the training provided the young people with certificates that counted as additional skills and was useful in finding jobs. Towards the end of the fieldwork process the number of field staff had dropped to 160 because the young people found work.

The social capital approach is based on networks that bring different people together. The training and preparation for the fieldwork required close cooperation between the Head Office of the DSD, the involved district offices and the fieldworkers. Moreover, staff working on logistics, finance and human resources was engaged in the process as well. The networking and coordination among individuals and task teams from different fields and areas resulted in internal social capital being built. The field research processes created new relationships between Head Office staff, District offices staff and the fieldworkers. The different teams learnt to appreciate the work of others and the effort shown by most of the team members created mutual motivation for the staff.

The Research and the Population Development Directorate of the Department experienced growth and empowerment of its staff. The team approach of the research process capacitated the staff through gaining more experience in how to cooperate with other role players. Until 2005 the above-mentioned directorate of the department had procured the services of research institutions to conduct research. The directorate itself only set the terms of reference for the contractor and managed the process of the research. This research project was the second time that the directorate's staff gained direct experience in conducting research and being involved in fieldwork. Problem solving other than problem centred thinking was applied and brought about a shift in their approach to solving problems. The team regularly encountered problems either with the logistics or crime related issues. This required extra meetings and developing additional plans to resolve the issues, for example counseling needed to be arranged and additional cars had to be ordered as well as reporting matters to the police. These experiences saw the emergence of leadership at different levels in the organisation and facilitated better planning for the remainder of the project.

3.6. DATA PROCESSING

The collected data was captured on SPSS for analysis. This process was outsourced to Citizen Surveys. The Department contracted Citizen Surveys, a private consultancy agency, which delivered quality work in previous research cooperation. A SPSS template was developed so that

the data could be captured in an appropriate manner. The capturing was completed on 2 June 2006. In addition to data capturing, Citizen Surveys was also contracted for data cleansing. Data cleansing describes a process whereby corrupt or inaccurate records is removed from a data set and/or corrected. It not only refers to the clean-up of the data but also includes a process to bring about consistency to different sets of data that have been merged from separate databases (Oppenheim, 2000: 279-280). Citizen Surveys finalised this process on 23 June 2006. The data capturing as well as the cleansing had not however been done in an appropriate and requested manner. Therefore, the researcher and the DSD had to engage further processes to finalise the data cleansing process through Citizen Surveys. In addition, coding of open questions and/or the option “other” therefore required a specific process to capture the data. This process was completed in April 2007.

3.7 DATA MEASUREMENT

The researcher used weights and percentages to inform the quantification of the stock of social capital. The following measurement framework was designed for the sole purpose of this research study: 1 – 33% low, 34 – 66% moderate and 67 – 100% high stock value of social capital. Information was prepared for tabulation of graphs and bar charts. As earlier indicated in the literature review there had been criticism about measuring the impact of social capital (Grootaert, et al, 2000; Paldam, 2000; Collier, 2002; Quibria, 2003). The researcher in describing the nature and utilisation of social capital among the youth will study the impact of public sector interventions and whether these contribute (internal social capital) to the youths’ stock of social capital. Secondly, the researcher will disaggregate social capital into the 3 types of social capital, namely, bonding, bridging and linking social capital as postulated by many authors (Stone, 2001; CAPS, 2002; Sobel, 2002; Jooste, 2005; Harpham, et al, 2006).

Only after, the above detailed processes of the data capturing was completed, was the researcher then able to proceed based on a clean set of primary data collected. The following chapters will provide findings and analysis as well as conclusions and recommendations drawn from the survey.

Chapter 4: Research Findings and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the findings and analysis of the quantitative research outlined in chapter three. The survey produced 9932 respondents (initial sample 9716) in three nodal and three non-nodal areas. These findings focus on the youth surveyed in the six selected areas assessing the level and whether the stock of social capital produced opportunities for youth to develop. The hypothesis the researcher will seek to confirm or reject, is that the public sector is a key contributor to the significant stock of social capital among the youth in the Western Cape Province. The researcher's findings and analysis seeks to answer the research question what is the nature and utilisation of the stock of social capital among youth in the following six geographical areas of the Western Cape: Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Manenberg, Gugulethu, Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn. The literature has revealed the significance of all types of social capital as important to the youth. The researcher in this research wants to gather evidence on the impact of the public sector interventions in contributing to youth in poor community's social capital stock. The researcher will use specific sub-questions to assess the public sector's contribution. Literature also pointed out that youth in poor communities need additional stock resources to enable their development. The researcher uses Woolcock and Narayan (2000) four perspectives: Communitarian, Networks, Institutional and Synergy as a framework for analysis for this research.

The researcher wants to reiterate the rationale for the nodal areas. The Urban Renewal Programme (URP) focusing on eight urban nodes in five provinces and the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) focusing on thirteen rural nodes in nine provinces was launched. The researcher emphasises public sector interventions and programmes and its role in social capital stock accumulation. In 2003 the provincial government based on the national government decree developed its strategy embracing the URP and ISRDP. The government of South Africa identified areas in deep poverty, unemployment and high crime levels also displaying a lack of coordination and integration of interventions and resources to promote development. The researcher through this research wants to assess if there has been transformation in the public sector based on internal social capital affecting the way departments deliver their services in a youth responsive manner based on integration, co-ordination, consultation, programme relevance and committed, customer-friendly staff.

Focusing on the Western Cape, the researcher identified youth between the ages of 15 to 25 years from the nationally identified urban and rural nodal areas, Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain and Beaufort West. The researcher also selected non-nodal areas in close proximity, namely Gugulethu, Manenberg and Oudtshoorn as these areas are considered comparable elements in this research.

As discussed in chapter three, discussion groups were conducted to inform the construction of youth appropriate language to be used in the questionnaire. The survey comprised of data based on a five percent sample of youth (15 to 25 years) in the six areas of this study using the South African Census 2001 data (www.statssa.gov.za). The data capturing and cleaning processes using SPSS started in 2006 and were completed in April 2007. This process was outsourced to a research company, Citizen Survey based in Cape Town. The sample was stratified into two groups; age 15 – 18 and 19 – 25 years. The sample was also further stratified for gender.

In total 9 932 interviews were completed by youth in the above mentioned age range from an initial sample of 9 716. The extra interviews were conducted to ensure an even spread between the age groups. The sample of 5% required 4278 (15 – 18yrs) and 5438 (19 – 25yrs). There were 267 more respondents in the first cohort, 15 – 18yrs and 4545 surveys were completed. The 19 – 25 years category completed 5387 questionnaires, 51 short of the original sample target.

What will follow, is the findings and an in depth analysis focusing mainly on the frequencies. The data set is an interesting sample and the provincial government of the Western Cape as a whole would benefit from the analysis of the data set particularly for the design of their interventions and programmes in the future to address youth needs in the province.

The questionnaire comprised of 43 questions divided into eight sections: the identifying details of the participants in terms of the demography, education and labour aspects. It then honed in on the specific sections responding to each of the six research sub-questions:

1. What are challenges youth face within certain geographical areas of the Western Cape Province?
2. What kinds of social capital exist already?
3. What processes assist youth to access and develop the stock of social capital?
4. How youth use the existing stock of social capital in their areas?
5. What opportunities do youth have for personal development in order to become a self-reliant and participative citizen?

6. Where are the gaps in public sector programmes that require interventions for the formation of social capital?

The researcher used the six research sub-questions as a thematic guideline by grouping the questions from the questionnaire. Against each research sub-question a process activity was identified, for example, research sub-question: What are challenges youth face within certain geographical areas of the Western Cape Province? The researcher defined the process of an audit of the situation of youth. The researcher then grouped all the audit questions as reflected in Table 4.1.

Research sub-question theme one as referred to above shows an audit of the situation of the youth in the six areas. Research sub-question theme two tested the stock of social capital in these areas for the youth, namely in the preview of the communitarian view. Research sub-question theme three identified the processes used by youth to engage social capital, whether through networks or institutions, as described in the network and institutional views.

The fourth research sub-question theme examined the utilisation patterns of youth of the existing stock of social capital. Research sub-question theme five identified opportunities for youth development in the Western Cape and research sub-question theme six proposes the design and guidelines for interventions for the youth to increase their stock of social capital for the future. This is an attempt to establish whether as a result of internal social capital through public sector programmes there will be impact on youth social capital as predicted in the synergy view.

The researcher in examining the stock of social capital, particularly the three types of social capital, bonding, bridging and linking social capital, found that bonding social capital was too broad and needed more definition and clarity. The researcher divided bonding social capital into two broad concepts to divide the social capital derived from the family from that of social capital derived from friends, neighbours and the immediate neighbourhood. The researcher labelled bonding social capital derived from family, familial bonding social capital and the stock derived from the latter, friends, neighbours, and the immediate neighbourhood as agapéian bonding social capital. Agapéian is based on the word “agape” which is defined in the literature as “selfless love of one person for another without sexual implications especially love that is spiritual in nature. (<http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwns=agape> love). This definition was considered relevant as a label as it matched the description of the bonding social capital the researcher was looking for.

Table 4.1 FRAMEWORK FOR THE PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

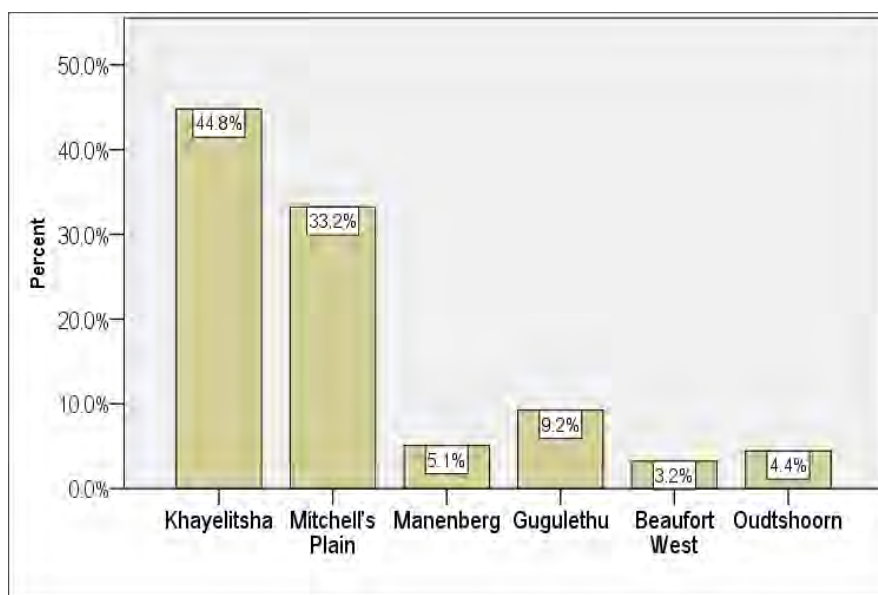
Research questions					
1. What are challenges youth face within certain geographical areas of the Western Cape Province?	2. What kinds of social capital exist already?	3. What processes assist youth to access and develop the stock of social capital?	4. How youth use the existing social capital stock in their areas?	5. What opportunities do youth have for personal development to become a self-reliant and participative citizen?	6. Where are the gaps in public sector programmes that require interventions for the formation of social capital?
Adjunct questions from questionnaire to research question					
Audit situation of youth	Test stock	Identify process of youth engagement	Examine patterns of usage	Identify gaps in public sector intervention.	Guidelines for interventions
Q 12	Q14.2	Q12			
Q13	Q14.3	Q14.2.1			
Q16	Q15.1			Q15.2	
Q17.2	Q18			Q15.3	
Q22	Q19		Q19		
Q28	Q20		Q20		
Q33	Q20.1	Q20.2	Q21		
	Q21	Q21.2			
	Q21.1	Q22	→	Q22	
	Q23-23.3		→	Q23	
	Q24 →		Q25-25.9	Q27	
	Q26 →	→			
	Q30 →	→	→	Q28.2 →	
	Q31			Q29 →	
	Q32			Q34.1-10 →	
	Q33			Q35	
	Q34.8			Q36	Q37
	Q40 →	→	→	Q38 →	
		Q41 →	→	Q40 →	Q39
				Q42 →	Q43

4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC FINDINGS

This section of the data collected addressed demographic questions with regard to the size of households, age, race and language used in the households of the respondents. The researcher focused primarily on the youth in the age cohort required for this study. The additional demographic questions were asked as a result of specific DSD requirements for general population trends for the utilisation by the Western Cape Province government, which did not have a direct bearing on the researchers' needs for responding to the stock of social capital research.

Figure 4.1 shows the percentage distribution of the interviews per area. The number of interviews was determined by the size of the youth population of the respective area. The sample was extracted from the youth population in the six areas of 199 144 persons (Census 2001). In the 2011 census this number had grown to 213 163 persons (STATSSA, 2014).

Figure 4.1: Demographic Representation of the Sample



Source: Survey data

Khayelitsha (4449) and Mitchell's Plain (3301) as a direct result of their population sizes had a larger number in the sample representing five percent of the respective areas. The Census 2001 cited the total population for Khayelitsha as being 329 003 people with the population being skewed towards females 52.0%. Census 2011 shows an increase of 8 015 for the 15 – 25 age cohort, which had 86 582 youth in the 2001 Census count (STATSSA, 2014). The age profile demonstrates that 58.2% of the population were under 34 years within this number, 40.2% of these youth living within the node were 19 years and younger. Mitchell's

Plain adult population was 246 763 (+15years) at the time of this study, within that number the youth population relevant in this study in the 15 – 25 years was 66 457 persons. The 2011 Census records the youth population with the same age cohort at a decrease figure of 62 166 persons (STATSSA, 2014). Beaufort West recorded an increase in youth of 920 in the 2011 Census compared to 15 – 25 years population of 7440 in 2001 (STATSSA, 2014). The only area in the six selected areas to show a decrease in the youth population over a 10 year period.

Table 4.2 presents the distribution of participants' socio-demographic characteristics in relation to their geographical areas.

Table 4.2: Socio-demographic characteristics by geographical areas

Question/Categories		Khayelitsha n = 4449	Mitchell's Plain n = 3302	Manenberg n = 503	Gugulethu n = 918	Beaufort West n = 320	Oudtshoorn n = 440	All N = 9932
Gender	<i>Female</i>	2921 (65.7)	1816 (55.0)	305 (60.6)	579 (63.1)	200 (62.5)	227 (51.6)	6048 (60.9)
	<i>Male</i>	1528 (34.3)	1486 (45.0)	198 (39.4)	339 (36.9)	120 (37.5)	213 (48.4)	3884 (39.1)
Age	<i>15 – 18yrs</i>	1830 (41.1)	1654 (50.1)	296 (58.8)	394 (42.9)	160 (50.0)	211 (48.0)	4545 (45.8)
	<i>19 – 25yrs</i>	2619 (58.9)	1648 (49.9)	207 (41.2)	524 (57.1)	160 (50.0)	229 (52.0)	5387 (54.2)
Type of Settlement	<i>Formal</i>	2540 (57.1)	3271 (99.1)	481 (95.6)	681 (74.2)	319 (99.7)	423 (96.1)	7715 (77.7)
	<i>Informal</i>	1909 (42.9)	31 (0.9)	22 (4.4)	237 (25.8)	1 (0.3)	17 (3.9)	2217 (22.3)
Household Size	<i>1 – 7 members</i>	3908 (87.8)	2824 (85.5)	408 (81.1)	754 (82.1)	278 (86.9)	364 (82.7)	8536 (85.9)
	<i>8 – 14 members</i>	538 (12.1)	464 (14.1)	90 (17.9)	158 (17.2)	42 (13.1)	73 (16.6)	1365 (13.7)
	<i>15 – 20 members</i>	3 (0.1)	14 (0.4)	5 (1.0)	6 (0.7)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.7)	31 (0.3)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages. . Fishers' exact test.

Source: Survey data

The areas of Khayelitsha (58.9%), Gugulethu (57.1%) and Oudtshoorn (52%) had more respondents comprising the older age cohort, 19 – 25 years. Manenberg (58.9%) and Mitchell's Plain (50.1%) had more respondents in the younger cohort 15 – 18 years in the constitution of the five percent sample. Beaufort West was the only area which had a 50 – 50 percent sample realisation for both the younger and older age cohorts. This could be indicative of older youth being more mobile or out of the house or doing other activities.

In Khayelitsha the sample was realised by 64.5% and necessitated a replacement in the wards of 35.5%. Of the households surveyed 79.3% were single respondents and 20.7% had two respondents. The gender distribution showed that 60.9% of the respondents were

female and 39.1% were male. STATSSA (Census 2001) records the population of women in Cape Town (Western Cape) for the age cohort 15 to 24 years as being approximately 52% of the population of 590 000.

The language frequency distribution (Table 4.3) of the surveyed youth demonstrated that isiXhosa speaking youth were in the highest number, then Afrikaans followed by English and Sesotho. Sesotho reflected a low frequency but featured in five of the six areas. Khayelitsha has the largest population per area in the Western Cape therefore it contributed the largest respondent number.

In the two areas of Mitchell's Plain and Manenberg, 20 youth spoke other languages, not South African, but foreign languages from other parts of Africa.

Table 4.3: Language frequency per area

	Khayelitsha n = 21982	Mitchell's Plain n = 18423	Manenberg n = 2941	Gugulethu n = 5122	Beaufort West n = 1713	Oudtshoorn n = 2461	Total N = 52642
Afrikaans	144 (0.7)	10371 (56.3)	1982 (67.4)	57 (1.1)	1340 (78.2)	1845 (75.0)	15739 (29.9)
isiXhosa	21411 (97.4)	385 (2.1)	347 (11.8)	4997 (97.6)	372 (21.7)	587 (23.9)	28099 (53.4)
English	10 (0.0)	7647 (41.5)	582 (19.8)	2 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	13 (0.5)	8255 (15.7)
isiZulu	52 (0.2)	1 (0.0)	2 (0.1)	1 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	56 (0.1)
isiNdebele	1 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.1)	1 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.1)	6 (0.0)
SePedi	12 (0.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	12 (0.0)
SeSotho	291 (1.3)	4 (0.0)	14 (0.5)	58 (1.1)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.1)	370 (0.7)
SeTswana	21 (0.1)	3 (0.0)	2 (0.1)	5 (0.1)	0 (0.0)	9 (0.4)	40 (0.1)
isiSwati	7 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	7 (0.0)
Tshivenda	24 (0.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.1)	27 (0.1)
Xitsonga	6 (0.0)	1 (0.0)	1 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	8 (0.0)
Other specify	3 (0.0)	11 (0.1)	9 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	23 (0.0)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

The first section of questions supplied demographic data, specifically requested by the provincial Department of Social Development, for example, the race of the households targeted. The Khayelitsha sample was 4449 out of the 9932 respondents in the research.

The respondents of this area came from households consisting of 21 982 persons. The racial make-up (Table 4.4) of these households was 21 926 Africans, 54 Coloureds and one White person. Mitchell's Plain comprised of 17791 Coloureds, 596 Africans, 24 Asians and 11 Whites. Both areas had one respondent each who refused to classify themselves and chose the "other" category.

The sampled households in Manenberg comprised of 2546 Coloureds, 393 Africans and 2 White persons. The respondent's from Gugulethu reported that their households were racially comprised as follows: 5103 Africans and 19 Coloureds.

The respondents from the two rural areas reported race based statistics in terms of their households as follows: Beaufort West – 1323 Coloureds, 390 Africans; and Oudtshoorn - 1797 Coloureds and 664 Africans.

The total number of persons of the households from which respondents came was 52 642, two race groups dominated this number: 29 072 Africans and 23 530 Coloureds. The remaining 40 comprised of 24 Asian, 14 Whites and two other nationalities. Another important feature of the communities was the type of housing in which the youth resided in. 77.7% Of the respondents resided in formal housing.

The researcher asked the respondents two questions to gain insight into whether they were residing with their parent, parents, extended family or on their own. She also enquired about the respondents marital status, as 45.8% of the sample was between the ages of 15 to 18 years.

Table 4.4: Racial demographics

	Khayelitsha n = 21982	Mitchell's Plain n = 18423	Manenberg n = 2941	Gugulethu n = 5122	Beaufort West n = 1713	Oudtshoorn n = 2461	Total n = 52642
African	21926 (99.7)	596 (3.2)	393 (13.4)	5103 (99.6)	390 (22.8)	664 (27.0)	29072 (55.2)
Coloured	54 (0.2)	17791 (96.6)	2546 (86.6)	19 (0.4)	1323 (77.2)	1797 (73.0)	23530 (44.7)
Asian	0 (0.0)	24 (0.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	24 (0.0)
White	1 (0.0)	11 (0.1)	2 (0.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	14 (0.0)
Other	1 (0.0)	1 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.0)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

The following findings revealed that 66.8% of the respondents lived with a parent or parents, 8.3% lived with siblings, 7.4% lived with grandparents or parents, 7.4% lived with other relatives, 3.2 % was the head of the household and 2.8% lived with a partner or spouse.

In response to the question on their marital status, 95% of the respondents were single, 3% were married and 2.8% lived with a partner. The age cohort of the survey dealt with young people from the age of 15 to 25 years, 54.2% was over the age of 18 years.

Question 1 of the questionnaire enquired about the sex of the respondents. There were 60.9% females in this survey sample. In question 5 it was reported that 13.3% (1319) lived with their child or children.

4.3. FINDINGS OF THEMATIC RESEARCH SUB-QUESTION ONE

In addressing research sub-question one “What are challenges youth face within certain geographical areas in the Western Cape Province”, the following results were generated:

4.3.1 EDUCATION

Section B of the questionnaire dealt with educational specific questions. The study revealed that 50.3% of the respondents were at school or attending an educational institution.

Table 4.5: Currently at school/or an educational institution

Currently at school/attending educational institution?	15 - 18yrs n = 4545	19 - 25yrs n = 5387	Total N = 9932
No	860 (18.9)	4072 (75.6)	4932 (49.7)
Yes	3685 (81.1)	1315 (24.4)	5000 (50.3)

Note. $\chi^2 = 3166.594$, $df = 1$. $p < .05$. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

Of the 5000 respondents who said they were attending school or an educational institution, only 312 respondents were attending a tertiary education institution, namely university.

Table 4.6: University Attendance

Institution	Frequency N = 5000	(%)
School	4688	93.76
University	312	6.24

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

When the respondents were asked what was the highest level of education they had attained, the majority (89.3%) had completed Grade 10 to Grade 12. Within this 2080 respondents 2069 (20.8%) completed matric. 7.8% of the respondents had only completed Grade 7 and less.

Table 4.7: Highest Education

Highest education level	Frequency N = 9925	(%)
No formal education	2	(0,0)
Gr 1/Sub A	6	0,1
Gr 2/Sub B	3	0,0
Gr 3/St 1	12	0,1
Gr 4/St 2	21	0,2
Gr 5/St 3	54	0,5
Gr 6/St 4	199	2,0
Gr 7/St 5	482	4,9
Gr 8/St 6	1140	11,5
Gr 9/St 7	2	0,2
Gr 10/St 8	2031	20,4
Gr 11/St 9	1838	18,5
Gr 12/St 10	2069	20,8
Further education training certificate (FET)	96	1,0
Diploma with matric	79	0,8
Diploma Without matric	16	0,2
Technikon degree	37	0,4
University degree	28	0,3
Don't know	3	0,0
Refused	4	0,0
Adult education/ literacy classes	7	0,1
Other, specify	21	0,2

Source: Survey data

Table 4.8: Highest Education: Achievement per area

Highest education level	Khayelitsha (n = 4448)	Mitchell's Plain (n = 3298)	Manenberg (n = 503)	Gugulethu (n = 916)	Beaufort West (n = 320)	Oudtshoorn (n = 440)	Total (N = 9925)
Gr7/Std5 or Less	413 (9.3)	173 (5.2)	45 (8.9)	68 (7.4)	29 (9.1)	51 (11.6)	779 (7.8)
Gr8/Std6 - Gr12/Std10	3914 (88.0)	3015 (91.4)	445 (88.5)	828 (90.4)	283 (88.4)	377 (85.7)	8862 (89.3)
Post Matric/Tertiary	115 (2.6)	94 (2.9)	12 (2.4)	18 (2.0)	6 (1.9)	11 (2.5)	256 (2.6)
Other	6 (0.1)	16 (0.5)	1 (0.2)	2 (0.2)	2 (0.6)	1 (0.2)	28 (0.3)

Note. $\chi^2 = 65.790$, $df = 15$, $p < .05$. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

The respondents in Oudtshoorn (98.3%) and Beaufort West (97%) indicated the highest local school attendance (Table 4.9). Khayelitsha (73.4%) and Manenberg (56.2%) rated local attendance of schools over fifty percent. Gugulethu (30%) had the lowest local school attendance.

A key challenge for the youth in some of the urban areas was local school attendance. Gugulethu and Manenberg recorded a high attendance of school and educational facilities outside of their residential areas, 70% and 43.8% respectively. Khayelitsha (26.6%) and Mitchell's Plain (25.6%) indicated a lower attendance of institutions outside of their residential areas. Beaufort West (3.0%) and Oudtshoorn (1.7%) had significantly lower external attendance, but this was primarily linked to distance to other facilities of these two rural areas, daily commutes would be totally impractical. The significance of this high number of youth not attending schools in their areas potentially leads to low bonding social capital, but does create an opportunity for bridging social capital. The impact on the public sector education is particularly significant for Gugulethu and Manenberg as there was an indication of a lower utilisation of local schools.

Table 4.9: Location of school/educational institution

Location of school/ educational institution	Khayelitsha n = 2289	Mitchell's Plain n = 1624	Manenberg n = 242	Gugulethu n = 506	Beaufort West n = 165	Oudtshoorn n = 174	Total N = 5000)
School Outside Area	610 (26.6)	415 (25.6)	106 (43.8)	354 (70.0)	5 (3.0)	3 (1.7)	1493 (29.9)
School in Area	1679 (73.4)	1209 (74.4)	136 (56.2)	152 (30.0)	160 (97.0)	171 (98.3)	3507 (70.1)

Note. $\chi^2 = 559.083$, $df = 5$, $p < .05$. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

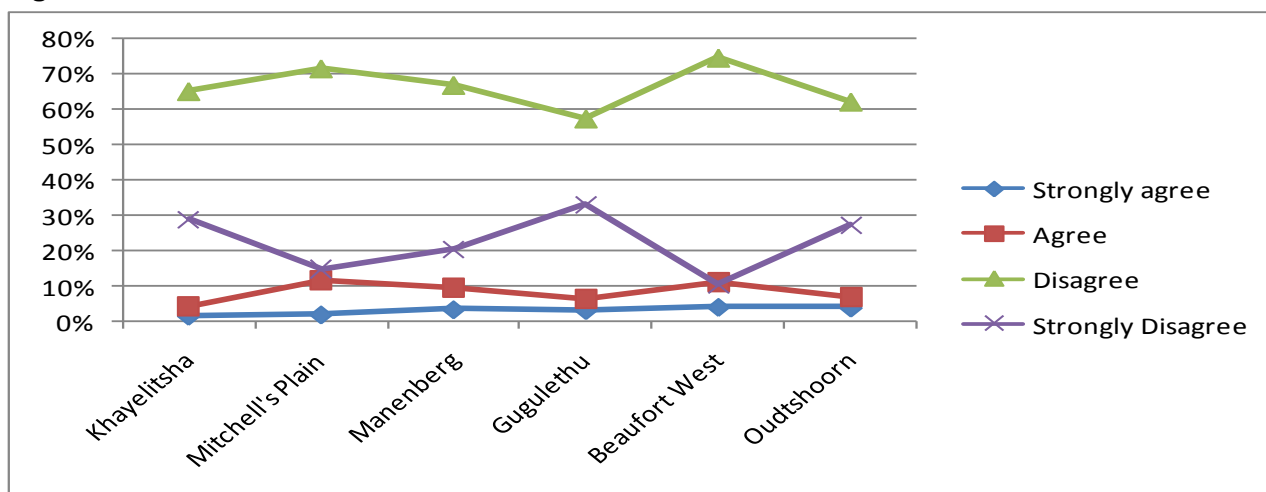
Source: Survey data

Further research into the trend of attending schools elsewhere should be conducted. The responses to these questions in these two areas therefore do not reflect possible areas of intervention for the educators (previously known as teachers) and the education department officials in the areas in which they live.

When surveying what the general perception of the impact, school and tertiary education had in the youth's lives, the following was found.

When the respondents were asked if they felt that their education had been a waste of time, 66.9% disagreed with the statement while 23.5% agreed with the statement. Within the 66.9% of respondents that disagreed with the statement that school had been a waste of time, Beaufort West (74.7%) and Mitchell's Plain (71.7%) rated it the highest (Figure 4.2).

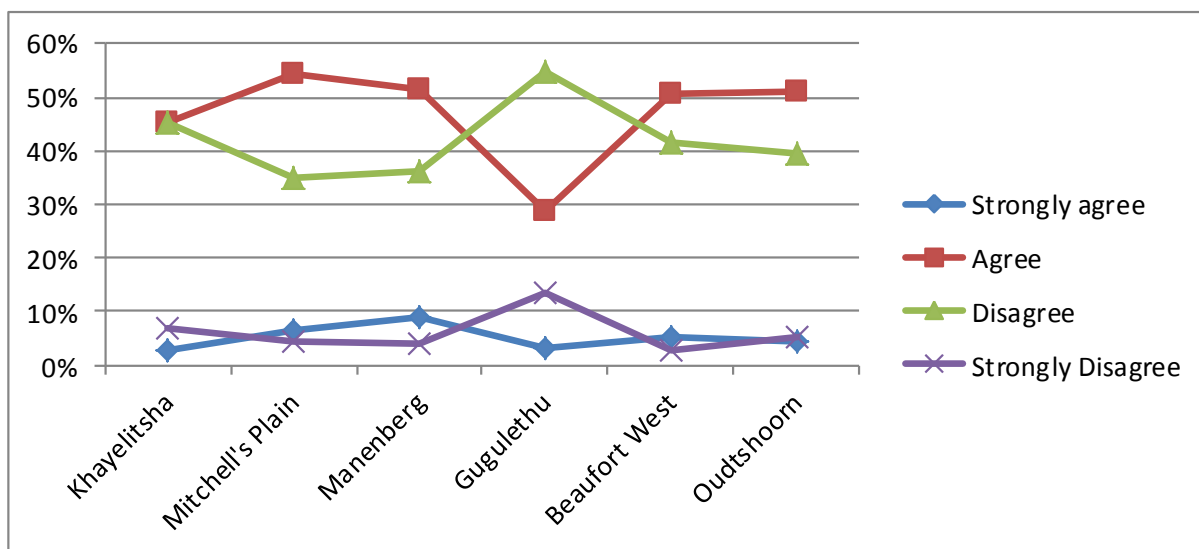
Figure 4.2: School has been a waste of time



Source: Survey data

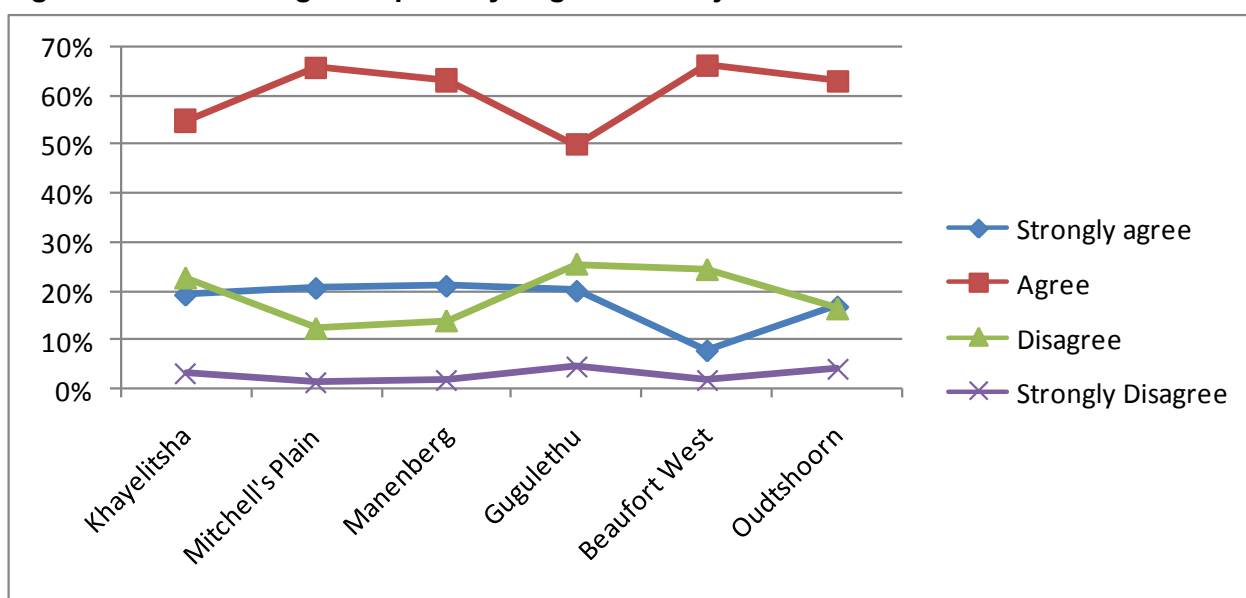
As shown in Figure 4.3, Gugulethu (28.6%) agreed the least with the statement that with a matric certificate you are more likely to get a job. The other areas rated this statement between 45% and 55%. Gugulethu (50%) and Khayelitsha (54.8%) rated a lower agreement than the other areas with the statement that a diploma or degree would more likely result in getting a job.

Figure 4.3: With Matric you get a better job



Source: Survey data

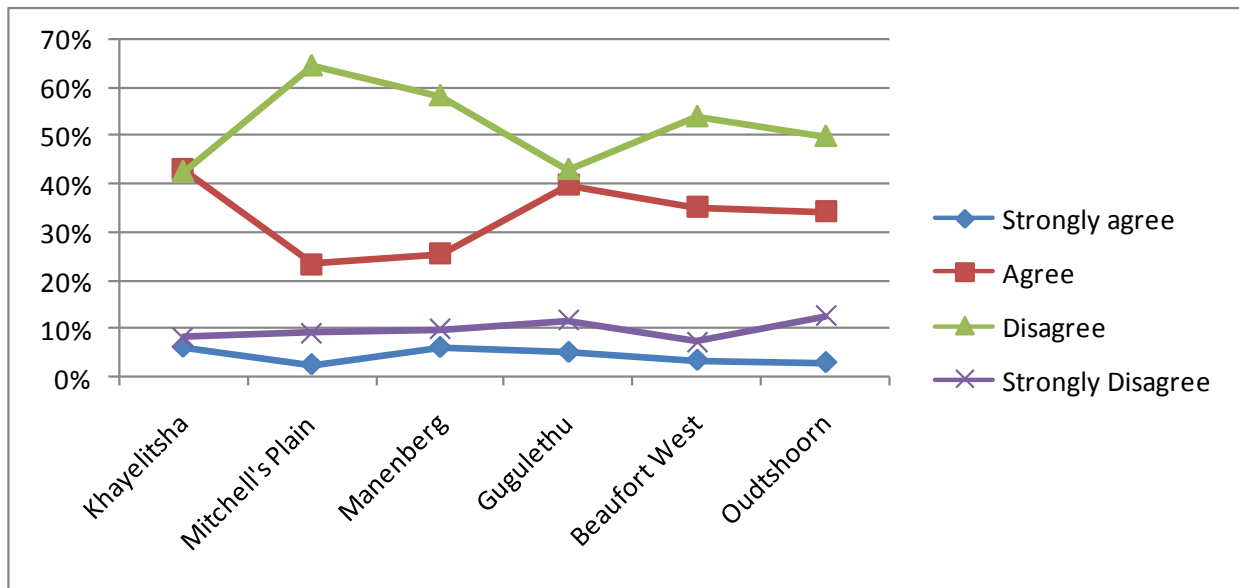
Figure 4.4: With a Degree/Diploma you get a better job



Source: Survey data

Khayelitsha and Gugulethu rated their agreement with the statement that men got better jobs than women 43% and 40% but they also rated the “disagree” response in the forty percent range, 42.7% and 43.1% respectively. The other areas rated their disagreement with the statement between 50% and 65% (Figure 4.5).

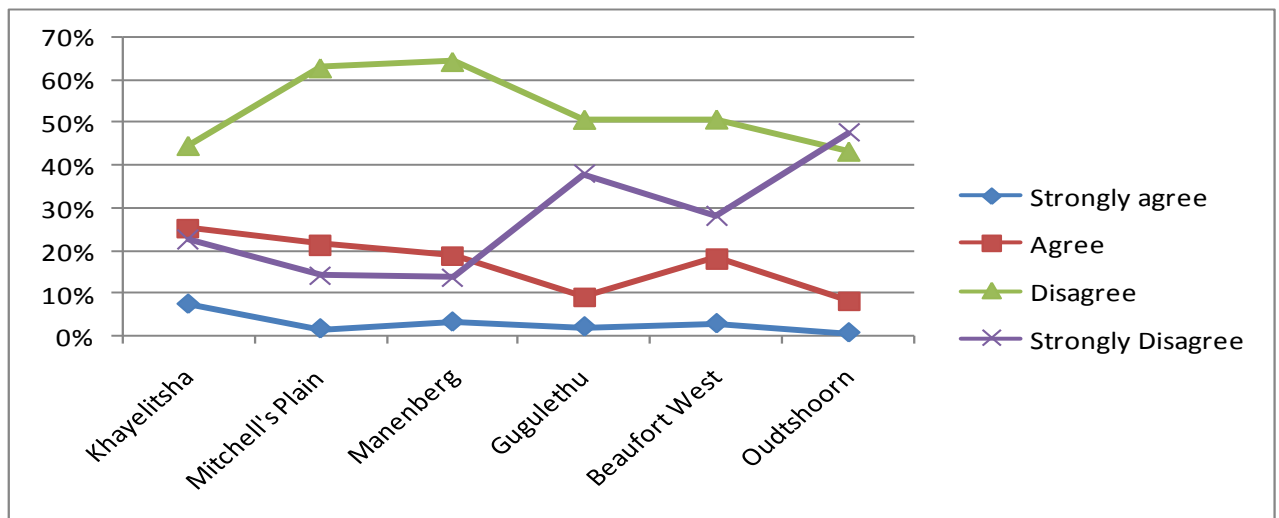
Figure 4.5: Males get better jobs than women



Source: Survey data

In responding to the statement that women having children is more important than a career (Figure 4.6), Khayelitsha had its disagreement response at 44.6% and strongly disagreed at 22.7%. This was lower than some of the other areas.

Figure 4.6: For women, children are more important than a career



Source: Survey data

Table 4.10: Overall percentage distribution of opinions on school and work

Opinions on School and Work	N	SA	A	D	SD
School has been/is waste of time for you	9929	207 (2.1)	738 (7.4)	6648 (66.9)	2336 (23.5)
If a person passes matric, more likely to get a job	9930	437 (4.4)	4704 (47.4)	4165 (41.9)	624 (6.3)
If a person has diploma or degree, more likely to get better job	9929	257 (2.6)	1870 (18.8)	5875 (59.2)	1927 (19.4)
Males can get good jobs more easily than females	9920	463 (4.7)	3453 (34.8)	5116 (51.5)	888 (8.9)
For women, having children is more important than a career	9927	426 (4.3)	2100 (21.1)	5214 (52.5)	2187 (22.0)

Note: SA = Strongly Agree; A = Agree; D = Disagree; SD = Strongly Disagree. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

In terms of school being a waste of time, the respondents disagreed (66.9%) and strongly disagreed (23.5%). Whether matric gets one a better job, the youth surveyed responded in an almost 50/ 50% response with “agree” being (47.4%) and “disagree” (41.9%). A degree or diploma gets one a better job yielded an almost 60% “agree” rating. The gender question on who gets better jobs, young men or women raised a rating of “agree” 34.8% and “disagree” 51.8%. A final question further explored whether having children for women was more important than a career. This issue raised an “agree” rating of 21.1% and a “disagree” rating of 52.5%.

4.3.2 EMPLOYMENT

The education section was followed by a section of focusing on the employment status of the respondents. The study went beyond just wanting to know if the person was employed but rather focusing on how youth found work and how a job search was initiated. The search methodology would present the researcher with evidence of social capital stock if through the use of family, friends or neighbours the youth found employment. The public service intervention, for example career counselling units at Education, Economic Affairs and Labour departments, was tested to establish if there was any impact for the youth when looking for work opportunities. The utilisation of these resources indicated the level of linking social capital stock.

As seen in Table 4.11 below, 8634 (86.9%) responded that they were not in any paid work and the remaining 13.1% were employed.

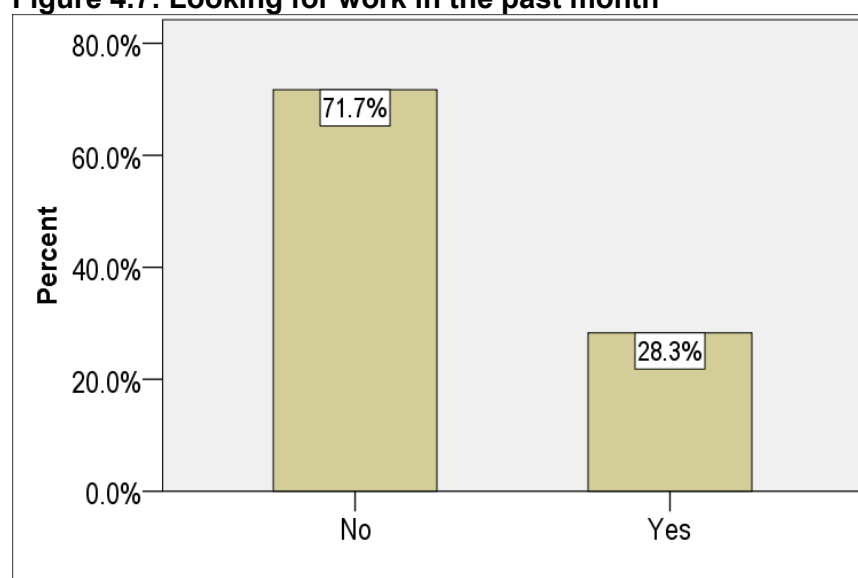
Table 4.11: Youth at Work – Currently doing any paid work

Currently doing paid work	Khayelitsha (n = 4449)	Mitchells Plain n = 3302	Manenberg (n = 503)	Gugulethu (n = 918)	Beaufort West n = 320	Oudtshoorn n = 440	Total N = 9932
No	3977 (89.4)	2759 (83.6)	429 (85.3)	817 (89.0)	280 (87.5)	372 (84.5)	8634 (86.9)
Yes	472 (10.6)	543 (16.4)	74 (14.7)	101 (11.0)	40 (12.5)	68 (15.5)	1298 (13.1)

Note. $\chi^2 = 63.755$, $df = 5$. $p < .05$. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

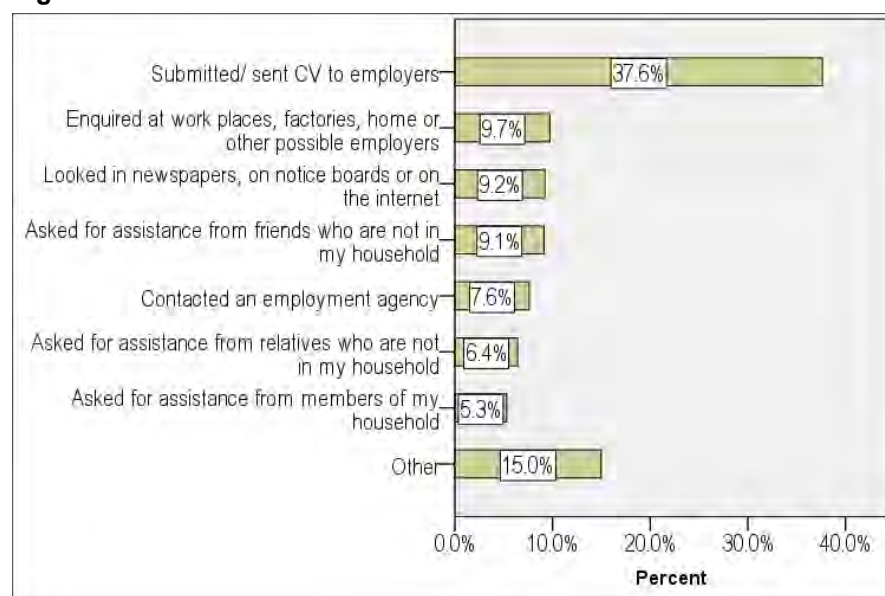
Question 15 ascertained whether the out of school, unemployed respondents had been looking for work over a period of a month prior to the survey being undertaken. For those who answered yes (28.3%), a further Question 15.1 solicited responses on their jobs search method.

Figure 4.7: Looking for work in the past month

Source: Survey data

Fifteen options were provided; seven of the options represented the highest frequencies as shown in Figure 4.8. The highest frequency of responses indicated, sending their Curriculum Vitae (CVs) to prospective employers.

Figure 4.8: Methods used to look for work



Source: Survey data

36.6% Were unemployed, whilst 28.3% (2810) had been looking for work in the months prior to the survey being conducted.

This method unless the CV is of “stand out” quality and directly responds to the needs of the required job, does not raise the highest success rate in a job search. Enquiries at work places, employment agencies and newspapers were the other methods youth used.

Table 4.12 presents the employment of the respondents by sector. Mitchell’s Plain (69.1%) and Manenberg (58.1%) of the working respondents worked in the formal private sector. The remaining areas respondents rated this element between 49.5% and 30.9%. The second highest rating was for those respondents working in the informal sector, Gugulethu (24.8%) rated the most responses. Khayelitsha, Oudtshoorn and Beaufort West rated their responses between 17.8% and 15%. Mitchell’s Plain (11.8%) and Manenberg (6.8%) scored lower in this sector as shown in the table below.

Table 4.12: Employment sector by geographic area

Employment sector	Khayelitsha n = 472	Mitchell's Plain n = 543	Manenberg n = 74	Gugulethu n = 101	Beaufort West n = 40	Oudtshoorn n = 68	All n = 1298
Work for wage/salary in the formal (private) sector	212 (44.9)	375 (69.1)	43 (58.1)	50 (49.5)	17 (42.5)	21 (30.9)	718 (55.3)
Work for wage in the informal sector	84 (17.8)	64 (11.8)	5 (6.8)	25 (24.8)	6 (15.0)	11 (16.2)	195 (15.0)
Work for private person	80 (16.9)	14 (2.6)	4 (5.4)	6 (5.9)	4 (10.0)	10 (14.7)	118 (9.1)
Local/Provincial/ National Government	17 (3.6)	20 (3.7)	2 (2.7)	7 (6.9)	0 (0.0)	12 (17.6)	58 (4.5)
Self-employed/ employer in the formal sector	14 (3.0)	13 (2.4)	5 (6.8)	5 (5.0)	1 (2.5)	0 (0.0)	38 (2.9)
Self-employed/ employer in the informal sector	33 (7.0)	19 (3.5)	3 (4.1)	3 (3.0)	2 (5.0)	3 (4.4)	63 (4.9)
Agriculture	3 (0.6)	1 (0.2)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (2.9)	6 (0.5)
Labour contractor	21 (4.4)	29 (5.3)	7 (9.5)	1 (1.0)	4 (10.0)	7 (10.3)	69 (5.3)
FBO/NGO/CBO	0 (0.0)	3 (0.6)	4 (5.4)	2 (2.0)	1 (2.5)	1 (1.5)	11 (0.8)
Other, specify	8 (1.7)	5 (0.9)	1 (1.4)	2 (2.0)	5 (12.5)	1 (1.5)	22 (1.7)

Note: Fisher's Exact Test: $p < 0.05$. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

Respondents were asked to rate their responses to the statement “I enjoy living in this area” using the scale of “strongly agree”, “agree”, “disagree” and “strongly disagree”. This research sub-question explores whether there is stock of agapéian bonding social capital which increases social cohesion in communities. The overall findings were that 20.1% strongly agreed, 53% agreed, 19.5% disagreed and 7.4% strongly disagreed. On the positive side, “strongly agree” and “agree” was 73.1% in the affirmative for respondents who enjoy living in their areas. The area that most strongly agreed with the statement was Oudtshoorn (27.5%). Gugulethu (24.9%) and Mitchell's Plain (23.4%) also rated the “I enjoy living in this area” in the twenty percent decile range. The rest of the areas rated this element in the more than 10 percent category: Khayelitsha (16.9%), Manenberg (15.7%) and Beaufort West (12.8%).

Beaufort West (69.1%) and Mitchell's Plain (61.7%) rated the category “agree” over 50%. The remaining areas rated this element in the fifty and forty percent decile: Oudtshoorn (59.9%), Manenberg (59.4%), Khayelitsha (46.4%) and Gugulethu (41.7%). Khayelitsha

(25.6%) and Gugulethu (22.5%) disagreed with a higher frequency rate compared to the other areas which had a frequency of responses of between 10.7% and 19.1%.

In terms of “strongly disagree”, Khayelitsha (11.1%), and Gugulethu (10.8%) rated this element over ten percent. Manenberg (5.8%) and Beaufort West (5.3%) rated “strongly disagree” with the statement “I enjoy living in this area” over five percent. The lowest rating was given by Oudtshoorn (1.8%) and Mitchell’s Plain (2.6%).

Table 4.13: Enjoy living in the area

	Khayelitsha n = 4446	Mitchell’s Plain n = 3300	Manenberg n = 503	Gugulethu n = 918	Beaufort West n = 320	Oudtshoorn n = 439	All N = 9926
Strongly Disagree	492 (11.1)	87 (2.6)	29 (5.8)	99 (10.8)	17 (5.3)	8 (1.8)	732 (7.4)
Disagree	1137 (25.6)	406 (12.3)	96 (19.1)	207 (22.5)	41 (12.8)	47 (10.7)	1934 (19.5)
Agree	2063 (46.4)	2035 (61.7)	299 (59.4)	383 (41.7)	221 (69.1)	263 (59.9)	5264 (53.0)
Strongly Agree	754 (17.0)	772 (23.4)	79 (15.7)	229 (24.9)	41 (12.8)	121 (27.6)	1996 (20.1)

Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

4.3.3 ISSUES AFFECTING YOUNG PEOPLE’S LIVES IN THEIR COMMUNITIES

Question 17 on the issues affecting the lives of young people in these six areas drew the following responses with the issues ranked with the highest impact in order of frequency:

- Teenage Pregnancy 73.5%
- Poverty and unemployment 71.8%
- Substance Abuse 70.9%
- Violence and Crime 69.9%

The respondents indicated that there were other issues which had a negative impact on their communities and particularly the youth, 10.5% said yes while 81.7% felt they had no other negative issues. Beaufort West (22.8%) reported the highest frequency rate for negative issues, followed by Gugulethu (17.4%) and Mitchell’s Plain (11.2%). The rest of the areas responded within the range of below ten percent: Manenberg (9.5%), Oudtshoorn (9.1%) and Khayelitsha (8.0%). Manenberg had the highest number of issues affecting youth’s lives followed by Khayelitsha and Gugulethu.

The Table 4.14 below provides a breakdown of issues affecting the youth, more importantly only issues with 50% response rate and more are mentioned.

Table 4.14: Percentage breakdown of issues affecting young people's per area

Question Item	Khayelitsha	Mitchell's Plain	Manenberg	Gugulethu	Beaufort West	Oudtshoorn	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Teenage pregnancy	79.0	61.6	81.3	84.4	67.8	79.3	73.5
Poverty and Unemployment	79.2	57.9	76.7	76.7	75.0	83.0	71.8
Substance abuse	71.7	67.2	78.5	80.8	59.1	69.8	70.9
Violence and crime	77.3	57.4	74.8	81.9	52.5	71.1	69.9
Gangsterism	64.7	60.2	72.2	77.6	41.3	74.3	64.5
Lack of trust of community towards young people	58.1	45.5	60.0	66.4	45.0	43.4	53.7
Peer group pressure	54.7	51.6	57.1	53.6	45.0	50.2	53.2
Lack of safety and protection	56.7	42.8	60.8	60.7	33.8	36.6	51.0

Note: Numbers represent percentages of response category "*Big Effect*" only.

Source: Survey data

The **other issues** that had a negative effect on the youth were rated by most mentioned responses:

1. Shebeens
2. Lack of sports facilities
3. Abuse of youth, girlfriends and children
4. Abortion
5. Lack of condom use
6. Discrimination against youth who are HIV/Aids positive
7. Youth do not have sufficient platforms to air their "voice"
8. Corruption
9. Youth leave school too early
10. Traditional leaders/healers

Question 17 as earlier indicated, was derived from the discussion group process which listed 16 elements affecting the lives of young people in their area. Question 28 described the effect or impact of gangs, drinking clubs, gossiping, corner boys, game shops and shopping malls have on the lives of young people. Results for this question are presented in Table 4.15 below.

Table 4.15: Effects of Peer Deviance

		Khayelitsha n = 4449	Mitchell's Plain n = 3302	Manenberg n = 503	Gugulethu n = 918	Beaufort West n = 320	Oudtshoorn n = 440	All N = 9932
Gangs	S.N (-)	1641 (36.9)	1055 (32.0)	222 (44.1)	529 (57.6)	66 (20.6)	164 (37.3)	3677 (37.0)
	N (-)	1741 (39.1)	1637 (49.6)	150 (29.8)	288 (31.4)	121 (37.8)	229 (52.0)	4166 (41.9)
	No Effect	613 (13.8)	422 (12.8)	52 (10.3)	58 (6.3)	106 (33.1)	21 (4.8)	1272 (12.8)
	P (+)	244 (5.5)	127 (3.8)	45 (8.9)	34 (3.7)	6 (1.9)	19 (4.3)	475 (4.8)
	S.P (+)	210 (4.7)	61 (1.8)	34 (6.8)	9 (1.0)	21 (6.6)	7 (1.6)	342 (3.4)
Drinking clubs	S.N (-)	1660 (37.3)	862 (26.1)	183 (36.4)	481 (52.4)	91 (28.4)	131 (29.8)	3408 (34.3)
	N (-)	1771 (39.8)	1656 (50.2)	164 (32.6)	307 (33.4)	164 (51.3)	246 (55.9)	4308 (43.4)
	No Effect	471 (10.6)	606 (18.4)	72 (14.3)	74 (8.1)	44 (13.8)	32 (7.3)	1299 (13.1)
	P (+)	286 (6.4)	136 (4.1)	55 (10.9)	44 (4.8)	4 (1.3)	21 (4.8)	546 (5.5)
	S.P (+)	261 (5.9)	42 (1.3)	29 (5.8)	12 (1.3)	17 (5.3)	10 (2.3)	371 (3.7)
Gossiping	S.N (-)	1624 (36.5)	917 (27.8)	192 (38.2)	358 (39.0)	97 (30.3)	100 (22.7)	3288 (33.1)
	N (-)	1614 (36.3)	1605 (48.6)	174 (34.6)	322 (35.1)	157 (49.1)	231 (52.5)	4103 (41.3)
	No Effect	738 (16.6)	544 (16.5)	56 (11.1)	200 (21.8)	33 (10.3)	82 (18.6)	1653 (16.6)
	P (+)	266 (6.0)	175 (5.3)	48 (9.5)	27 (2.9)	8 (2.5)	19 (4.3)	543 (5.5)
	S.P (+)	207 (4.7)	61 (1.8)	33 (6.6)	11 (1.2)	25 (7.8)	8 (1.8)	345 (3.5)
Corner boys	S.N (-)	1364 (30.7)	802 (24.3)	189 (37.6)	355 (38.7)	68 (21.3)	68 (15.5)	2846 (28.7)
	N (-)	1854 (41.7)	1603 (48.5)	165 (32.8)	348 (37.9)	144 (45.0)	164 (37.3)	4278 (43.1)
	No Effect	741 (16.7)	678 (20.5)	70 (13.9)	163 (17.8)	88 (27.5)	184 (41.8)	1924 (19.4)
	P (+)	294 (6.6)	168 (5.1)	42 (8.3)	40 (4.4)	3 (0.9)	18 (4.1)	565 (5.7)
	S.P (+)	196 (4.4)	51 (1.5)	37 (7.4)	12 (1.3)	17 (5.3)	6 (1.4)	319 (3.2)
Game shops	S.N (-)	538 (12.1)	376 (11.4)	84 (16.7)	141 (15.4)	21 (6.6)	16 (3.6)	1176 (11.8)
	N (-)	992 (22.3)	1019 (30.9)	122 (24.3)	180 (19.6)	52 (16.3)	61 (13.9)	2426 (24.4)
	No Effect	2139 (48.1)	1276 (38.6)	158 (31.4)	377 (41.1)	171 (53.4)	249 (56.6)	4370 (44.0)
	P (+)	627 (14.1)	559 (16.9)	107 (21.3)	186 (20.3)	70 (21.9)	95 (21.6)	1644 (16.6)
	S.P (+)	153 (3.4)	72 (2.2)	32 (6.4)	34 (3.7)	6 (1.9)	19 (4.3)	316 (3.2)

		Khayelitsha n = 4449	Mitchell's Plain n = 3302	Manenberg n = 503	Gugulethu n = 918	Beaufort West n = 320	Oudtshoorn n = 440	All N = 9932
Shopping malls	S.N (-)	255 (5.7)	204 (6.2)	41 (8.2)	56 (6.1)	10 (3.1)	9 (2.0)	575 (5.8)
	N (-)	371 (8.3)	426 (12.9)	59 (11.7)	63 (6.9)	2 (0.6)	29 (6.6)	950 (9.6)
	No Effect	1726 (38.8)	1142 (34.6)	193 (38.4)	235 (25.6)	252 (78.8)	275 (62.5)	3823 (38.5)
	P (+)	1458 (32.8)	1222 (37.0)	171 (34.0)	371 (40.4)	47 (14.7)	106 (24.1)	3375 (34.0)
	S.P (+)	639 (14.4)	308 (9.3)	39 (7.8)	193 (21.0)	9 (2.8)	21 (4.8)	1209 (12.2)

Note. S.N (-) = Strongly negative; N (-) = Negative; P (+) = Positive; S.P (+) = Strongly positive.
Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

With regard to the impact of gangs, Gugulethu (57.6%) and Manenberg (44.1%) recorded the highest frequency under the category strongest negative effect. Oudtshoorn (37.3%), Khayelitsha (36.9%) and Mitchell's Plain (32.0%) followed with more than 30% and less than 38% impact. Beaufort West indicated that gangs had the lowest strong negative (20.6%) effect but further indicated a percentage (33.1%) of no impact at all. It is clear that Beaufort West has far less gang activity. This could be linked to its rural stature, but Oudtshoorn also a rural area, which recorded a strong negative and negative effect (89.3%) which was higher than Gugulethu and Manenberg.

Gugulethu (85.8%) and Oudtshoorn (85.7%) indicated the highest negative effect of drinking clubs on the youth („strongly negative” and „negative” response categories added together). While Mitchell's Plain (18.4%) cited no effect on the youth of drinking clubs and, 50.2% in this area reported that it did have a negative impact.

Across the areas gossiping was indicated at 33.1% as a strong negative and 41.3% as negative. Oudtshoorn (52.5%), Beaufort West (49.1%) and Mitchell's Plain (48.6%) recorded the highest negative effect. Gugulethu recorded no effect at 21.8%.

Gugulethu (76.6%), Mitchell's Plain (72.8%) and Khayelitsha (72.4%) rated corner boys (not a gang, no criminal intent but a peer pressure group of dangerous pranks) with a negative effect over 70%, while Oudtshoorn cited the negative effect at 52.8% („strongly negative” and „negative” response categories added together). This area also recorded the highest no effect as 41.8%.

Mitchell's Plain (30.9%) and Manenberg (24.3%) indicated a higher negative effect of game shops, whilst Oudtshoorn (56.6%), Beaufort West (53.4%), Khayelitsha (48.1%) and Gugulethu (41.1%) indicated no effect on the youth as a result of game shops.

Beaufort West (78.8%) and Oudtshoorn (62.5%) respondents recorded the highest no effect rating for shopping malls. This could be linked to the fact that these rural areas have no large shopping malls. Gugulethu (61.4%) reported a strong positive effect on youth through having access to shopping malls (*„strongly positive“ and „positive‘* response categories added together).

In response to Question 22 youth were asked whether their households were supporting other people or persons who were not part of their household with 25% saying “yes”. Family members made up 72.5% of the persons supported, friends accounted for 23.9% and neighbours 1.9%. The person's needs extended to food and money. The persons being supported either lived in the same area (41%), other provinces (30.9%) or elsewhere in Cape Town (23.4%). The persons supported predominantly visited this household once a month (30.7%), during holidays (28%), few times a week (14.5%).

In concluding this thematic research sub-question which focused on what youth in certain areas were challenged with, Question 33 enquired whether youth thought their communities had a negative perception of them. Whilst Gugulethu (32.5%) youth demonstrated the highest frequency of the statement “strongly agree” that communities have a negative perception of the youth. Manenberg demonstrated through their “strongly agree” (25.8%) and “agree” (56.7%) the collective highest frequency in response to the statement and the lowest level of “disagree” (15.1%) and “strongly disagree” (17.5%).

All six areas rated the above question between 71.6% and 82.5% for agreement with the statement. This evidenced low social capital stock in terms of bridging social capital. Despite all these negative elements raised in these communities, when asked if they would help people other than their families, 69.6% said they would, but mostly if they were known to the youth, indicating moderate agapéian bonding social capital.

4.3.4. ANALYSIS OF THEMATIC RESEARCH SUB-QUESTION ONE

This section of the research conducted an audit of the challenges young people face. In response to the research sub-question what the challenges youth are faced with within

certain areas of the Western Cape Province, the survey findings leads the researcher to the following analysis:

The findings in this audit is supported with evidence of the challenges youth face also provided by the researcher in the situational analysis and the profiles of the areas studied (Annexure B & C).

The significance of this high number of youth not attending schools in their areas leads to low bonding social capital, but this does create an opportunity for bridging social capital. The impact on the public sector is particularly significant for Gugulethu and Manenberg which recorded the highest levels of external school attendance.

The social capital results particularly for Gugulethu and Manenberg will require more in depth understanding for interventions by the department of education to provide more appropriate schools and educators to encourage youth to receive education in their own areas. This study would also be able to link the rating of the community's negative perception of youth, and the issues affecting the youths' lives as indicated in section 4.3 as contributors to the need to attend school elsewhere.

The link between social capital, school and youth has been explored in many studies. (Coleman, 1994; Kahne & Bailey, 1999; Morrow, 1999; Bourdieu, 1999; Benson et al, 1999; Saguaro Group, 2000; Blum & Rinehart, 2001; Ball, 2003; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004; Holland, 2006, 2008; Henderson et al, 2007)

Youth are embedded in three types of communities: school, extra-curricular groups and families as postulated in the Communitarian view and Institutional View. Youth development hinges on an important aspect, namely the school. Their sense of identity, achievement, value formation and civic participation is also formulated in this environment. A wide range of relationships of the bonding and bridging social capital type take place at school. If these relationships do not take place there, they go outside of the environment (drop outs) to make "meaningful connections", for example, gangs (Burton, 2012). School is often the site of role model development and trusted relationships with adults and peers. The researcher amplifies location of the school as significant because of the school's link to community. Locality is important for social cohesion to take place. The report of the Saguaro Group denotes the following socialisation role of the school: (1) teaching and learning takes place; (2) entrenching a country's democracy; (3) youth participate in peer culture at school, shapes their values and relationships; (4) through schools youth learn to participate in

community activities, particularly where the pillar of community service is a part of the curriculum (2000). Strong ties are built by schools with the community. If the youth are attending schools in another community the ties will be weaker (Granovetter, 1973).

Research suggests that as families move out of poverty, the tendency is to send their youth to schools outside of their community in the hope that a better regarded and resourced school will produce better outcomes. Some youth struggle with this transition because they leave their strong ties and weak ties does not necessarily provide the much needed social capital in the form of their “best friends” and trusted educators from the community.

In this survey there were 5387 respondents in the age cohort 19 – 25 years and only 312 were attending tertiary institutions. This evidenced the skills shortage among the youth in poor areas, despite 2069 (20.8%) of the 9932 respondents completing matric.

Whilst the five areas: Khayelitsha, Manenberg, Mitchell’s Plain, Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn agreed that with matric and tertiary education you could get a better job. Gugulethu disagreed with the statement that with matric could get a person with a better job. Gugulethu (50%) and Khayelitsha (54%) also had less confidence that a degree/diploma would get the respondents a better level of employment.

51.8% Of the respondents also identified that with a matric certificate one is more likely to get a job. In this research there were 5387 respondents out of the total sample of 9932 who were between the ages of 19 to 25 years. There were only 312 (6.2%) respondents attending university, a very small statistical significance, this correlates with the challenges youth have in poor communities. More bursaries need to be available for poor youth. Almost 79% of the youth surveyed agreed that a diploma or tertiary degree would position them to get a better job. This is a positive statement for youth in poor communities. It showed that there should clearly be more opportunities for young people to scale up because the commitment of youth was evidenced and with the appropriate levels of linking social capital they could achieve their highest educational potential but their reality is high unemployment which includes youth who have tertiary education. Both sexes indicated that they did not support the statement that males get better jobs than females. 74.5% Of the respondents disagreed with the statement that for women having children was more important than a career.

In poor communities youth have experienced mothers having to work to support their families financially whilst having children was important, it does not detract from women having and wanting a career.

It is common knowledge that 500 000 matriculants join either the job market search or are trying to get into the 50 000 places in the country's top five universities. No nodal inference could be made as Gugulethu is a non-nodal area and Khayelitsha is a nodal area, and both areas have geographic proximity to universities and further education and training colleges. Financial support is still a major barrier for the youth.

Media reports and the former Premier revealed that only three out of 100 Africans get employment in the Western Cape, while 92 out of 100 Whites successfully found work (Annexure B). Landman (2013) says as a result of the 2008 financial crisis, 900 000 jobs were lost. The youth with limited experience and skills are hardest hit by the unemployment situation. This is a critical measure that, whilst unemployment affects all people, African people in poor communities understand that their opportunities are limited. This provides evidence of very low linking social capital. Low community confidence also erodes trust and social cohesion.

The negative perception of youth in these communities weakens the availability of opportunities for the youth. This negative perception further made youth not see their role as a great value add to their community. To what extent this perception is true as it could lead to social exclusion creates the need for enquiry in future research.

The question related to whether youth enjoyed living in their area strengthened agapéian bonding social capital through the responses. Oudtshoorn (87.3%), Mitchell's Plain (85.0%), Beaufort West (81.9%) and Manenberg (75.2%) displayed high levels of stock of bonding social capital, while Gugulethu (66.6%) and Khayelitsha (63.3%) demonstrated a moderate stock of bonding social capital.

The Communitarian perspective contends that "social capital is inherently good, that more is better, and that its presence always has a positive effect on a country's welfare" (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Poor communities use the centrality of strong ties to protect each other because many times that is all they have. But social solidarity, on its own (bonding social capital) does not necessarily translate into opportunities or economic prosperity that is needed for youth development.

The issues raised by the youth in this research demonstrated interrelatedness between poverty and moral societal decline as well as the degree of social capital stock that could exist in a community. These issues create social divisions making it very difficult to develop social capital in these communities particularly because of the high level of mistrust and low level of reciprocity.

Barriers to the Communitarian view are fear of crime and drug merchants as well as being victims, restricted participation in community networks, civic engagement, and building relationships. The reverse is the enabling conditions for social capital to exist. The social development approach by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) in Mathie and Cunningham (2003) namely Asset Based Community Development is the backdrop for this social capital research, recognising that communities have the ability to mobilise its own assets, no matter how limited.

The above mentioned approach locates itself within the participatory development work which has pushed for change that builds the capabilities of the disadvantaged and transforms inequitable social relations, whether these are within the immediate neighbourhood (bonding social capital) or in the interactions the broader community (bridging social capital) has with external agencies (linking social capital).

Nodal and non-nodal areas in this study rated the following issues: teenage pregnancy, poverty and unemployment, substance abuse, gangsterism, crime and violence as having a high negative impact in their communities as indicated by an average of 60% to 80% frequency response rate. The results of Manenberg reflected that young people had even more difficulties and that over 50% of the youth were confronted with lack of safety, lack of community trust of the youth, peer group pressure, lack of safety at school, sexual abuse/rape, lack of recreational activities and the lack of appropriate education, as additional critical issues impacting their lives in this area.

Khayelitsha raised a further five issues over 50%, HIV/Aids, a lack of community trust in the youth, lack of safety, peer group pressure and sexual abuse/rape. Gugulethu also raised an additional four issues with more than 50%, lack of community trust in the youth, lack of safety, HIV/Aids and peer group pressure. Oudtshoorn indicated two additional issues over 50%, HIV/Aids and peer group pressure and Mitchell's Plain also raised peer group pressure.

Of the 25% of respondents who said their household was supporting others not in the household, Beaufort West demonstrated the highest response of 42.1%, supporting persons not in their household. Beaufort West further indicated that the persons, mainly family, lived in the same area. Beaufort West was declared a nodal area by government because it recorded significantly above average unemployment levels.

The stock of social capital is linked to the level of social functioning in a community. Manenberg, Gugulethu and Khayelitsha have evidenced low levels of social capital. This initial evidence will require more substantiation in terms of the types of social capital, bonding, bridging and linking social capital. The researcher will expand on this statement through the impact of the findings in the social cohesion section further on in this chapter. The initial evidence in the findings of this sub-question is as a result of the community's negative issues, for example, gangs, substance abuse, rape and violent crimes, Gugulethu displayed less social cohesion leading to the lower stocks of bridging social capital followed by Khayelitsha and Manenberg.

Poor communities experience high levels of negative perception of the youth. All six areas rated the "agree" and "strongly agree" categories in the range of more than 70%. This results in low levels of social capital because youth feel a sense of isolation and exclusion from the broader community.

Woolcock (1998), Putnam (2000) and Landman (2013) stress that communities with high stocks of social capital would be safer, cleaner, healthier, wealthier, better educated, better governed and happier. The above findings describe challenges which the youth are confronted with at the micro level depreciating their stock of social capital.

This audit of the lives of youth in these six areas taking into account aspects of education, tertiary education, community life has amplified challenges of poverty and under-development with very little bridging and linking social capital present, militates against synergy which is paramount to enable youth development.

4.4. FINDINGS OF THEMATIC RESEARCH SUB-QUESTION TWO

Thematic research sub-question two seeks to identify what kind of social capital exists in the communities included in the study. As earlier stated there is bonding, bridging and linking social capital.

The first test for existing social capital is in Section C: Labour issues in the questionnaire. The survey revealed in Table 4.11 that 13.1% (1298) of the youth were employed. The affirmative response to Question 14 led to two further questions. The questions enquired whether anyone in their family was doing jobs they did and whether it assisted them in getting the jobs. 27.7% Of the respondents did the same work as a member of their family and 81.4% agreed that it assisted them in getting the job. The researcher added a further probing question on training and whether family and/or friends assisted. The respondents mainly got on the job training and formal training, 11.8% were taught by family and 8% by friends.

As earlier stated in response to Question 15, 28.3% (2810) of the respondents had been looking for work over a period of a month prior to the survey being undertaken. For those who answered yes, Question 15.1 solicited responses on how they went about looking for work. Fifteen options were provided; six of the options represented the highest frequencies as shown in Figure 4.8. The highest frequency of responses indicated, was sending their CVs to prospective employers. When family inside the home and relatives living elsewhere is added, then asking family for assistance with the youth's job search is the second strategy employed by the youth.

Beaufort West (73.6%) and Oudtshoorn (63.6%) rated sending their CV's to prospective employers as their predominant pattern of job search, checked noticeboards (17.6%) and local newspapers (8.24%), they also added enquiries at work places (13.6%) and (18.2%) contacted an employment agency (17.3%) and (12.7%). The other areas all rated sending their CVs to prospective employers as their most frequent response in the above forty percent decile, 43% to 55.6%. The other areas also rated "enquiries at work places" between 3.6% and 16% and "contacted employment agencies" between 6.6% and 11.2%.

Looking in newspapers and on notice boards was rated lower. This pattern was more frequently used by Oudtshoorn (17.6%), Manenberg (15.4%) and Mitchell's Plain (13.6%).

Family members in the households and outside were also used in the job search but in varying degrees. Manenberg (23.4%), Mitchell's Plain (17.3%) and Oudtshoorn (13.3%) used family members in and outside of their household to the above extent. To a lesser degree Mitchell's Plain (17.3%), Gugulethu (16.4%) and Beaufort West (11.9%) also relied on family members.

Mitchell's Plain (13.5%) and Khayelitsha (12.4%) showed that their job search also included asking their friends. The remaining areas also asked friends and rated this option between 6.4% and 12.3%. Beaufort West also indicated that their job search also extended to asking people in their community (11.8%) and going to places where casual work has been offered (15.5%). All the other areas noted these 2 options within the ten percent and lower decile.

4.4.1 SOCIAL COHESION

Section D of the questionnaire tested the stock of social capital through posing questions that are related to the proxy indicator, social cohesion. Values such as reciprocity and solidarity are investigated. The stock of social capital is derived from the sense of social cohesion that exists in a community, the social relations and the interactional value to others in community. The general assumption is that in terms of familial bonding social capital the person would generally assist members of their own family and the household they live in and their immediate neighbourhood. But bridging social capital requires a different value proposition. It is directed to the community at large with no familiarity. It is demonstrated through actions that require the youth to give effect to a response to these scenarios without the conditionality of having to know the person. It could include people who have different ethnicity and religion.

The researcher chose to compare the 3 nodal areas: Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain and Beaufort West to the non-nodal areas of Manenberg, Gugulethu and Oudtshoorn. Below the researcher has demonstrated this comparison. The nodal areas gave higher ratings to this social cohesion question.

As stated earlier and seen in Table 4.16 below 69.6% of young people said that they would assist, people other than their family, while 1645 respondents reported they would help only if they knew the person further tests the existence of social capital.

Table 4.16: Frequency distribution of social cohesion in nodal and non-nodal areas

Question Items	Response	Nodal (N = 8071)	Non-nodal (N = 1861)	All
Offer your help or time to help people other than your family	1	508 (6.3)	114 (6.1)	622 (6.3)
	2	645 (8.0)	107 (5.7)	752 (7.6)
	3	1282 (15.9)	363 (19.5)	1645 (16.6)
	4	5636 (69.8)	1277 (68.6)	6913 (69.6)
Get up in the bus/train and offer your seat if an older person enters	1	624 (7.7)	178 (9.6)	802 (8.1)
	2	447 (5.5)	76 (4.1)	523 (5.3)
	3	868 (10.8)	207 (11.1)	1075 (10.8)
	4	6132 (76.0)	1400 (75.2)	7532 (75.8)

Question Items	Response	Nodal (N = 8071)	Non-nodal (N = 1861)	All
Look after your neighbours children if they need somebody to help out	1	910 (11.3)	358 (19.2)	1268 (12.8)
	2	1048 (13.0)	197 (10.6)	1245 (12.5)
	3	1607 (19.9)	428 (23.0)	2035 (20.5)
	4	4506 (55.8)	878 (47.2)	5384 (54.2)
Help out If one of your neighbours has a flat tyre	1	852 (10.6)	214 (11.5)	1066 (10.7)
	2	1089 (13.5)	205 (11.0)	1294 (13.0)
	3	1656 (20.5)	455 (24.4)	2111 (21.3)
	4	4474 (55.4)	987 (53.0)	5461 (55.0)
Join in if there is a cultural celebration in your community	1	1837 (22.8)	521 (28.0)	2358 (23.7)
	2	1225 (15.2)	171 (9.2)	1396 (14.1)
	3	1394 (17.3)	399 (21.4)	1793 (18.1)
	4	3615 (44.8)	770 (41.4)	4385 (44.2)
If you had a car would you give somebody from your community a lift if they needed one	1	461 (5.7)	102 (5.5)	563 (5.7)
	2	481 (6.0)	82 (4.4)	563 (5.7)
	3	2752 (34.1)	674 (36.2)	3426 (34.5)
	4	4377 (54.2)	1003 (53.9)	5380 (54.2)

Note. 1 = No, never; 2 = No, but would if I had a chance; 3 = Yes, but only if I know the person; 4 = Yes, in general. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

Two of the six scenarios were converted into questions relating to giving up your seat for an older person, looking after your neighbours children, giving a lift, changing a neighbours flat tyre and participation in a cultural event in the community.

Generally, 86.2% of the respondents were prepared to offer their seat on public transport to an older person within this number, 1645 (16.6%) qualified this assistance by saying they would offer their seat if they knew the person. This again weakens bridging social capital, because the behaviour is conditional and not automatic as familiarity is a factor.

In response to the scenario of caring for a neighbour's children the respondents replied with 54.2% generally agreeing that they would look after their neighbour's children, others (20.5%) qualified this by saying provided they knew the family.

With regard to assisting with a flat tyre 55% said they would help but 21.3% felt that they would have to know the person.

With regard to the two scenarios of caring for neighbour's children or assisting in changing a flat tyre further analysis is extended to include the gender aspect. Sometimes stereotypically, childcare would be more related to the female gender, whilst changing the tyre could be seen as being in the male domain.

The female respondents recorded higher incidence than males in both instances, 35.4% and 30.5% respectively whilst the males said they would help in general with children (18.8%) and (24.4%) with the flat tyre. Females demonstrated a higher degree of willingness to help regardless of whether it was more a “male type help” of assistance.

This section extended beyond the neighbours, looking at assistance offered to the community. This goes beyond bonding social capital to bridging social capital. The question inquiring whether the youth would participate in a cultural celebration in their community drew the following responses.

Only 44.2% responded with attendance in general and a further 18.1% said they would attend if they knew someone who was performing in the event. 2358 (23.7%) Respondents reported non-attendance.

Four areas namely, Beaufort West, Manenberg, Oudtshoorn and Gugulethu indicated with 24% to 32% that they would not attend a cultural event in the community.

In response to giving someone of your community a lift, 34.5% said they would give someone of their community a lift if they knew the person and were less inclined to give strangers a lift. A further 54.2% said yes in general regardless of whether they knew the person. This act indicated stock of social capital based on a sense of community, community identity and reciprocal support.

In Question 19 a further test was included to establish what type of social capital the respondent and his/her family were reliant on in the five specific situations of “gone without food”, “no cash”, “is sick”, “a victim of crime” and “substance abuse problems”.

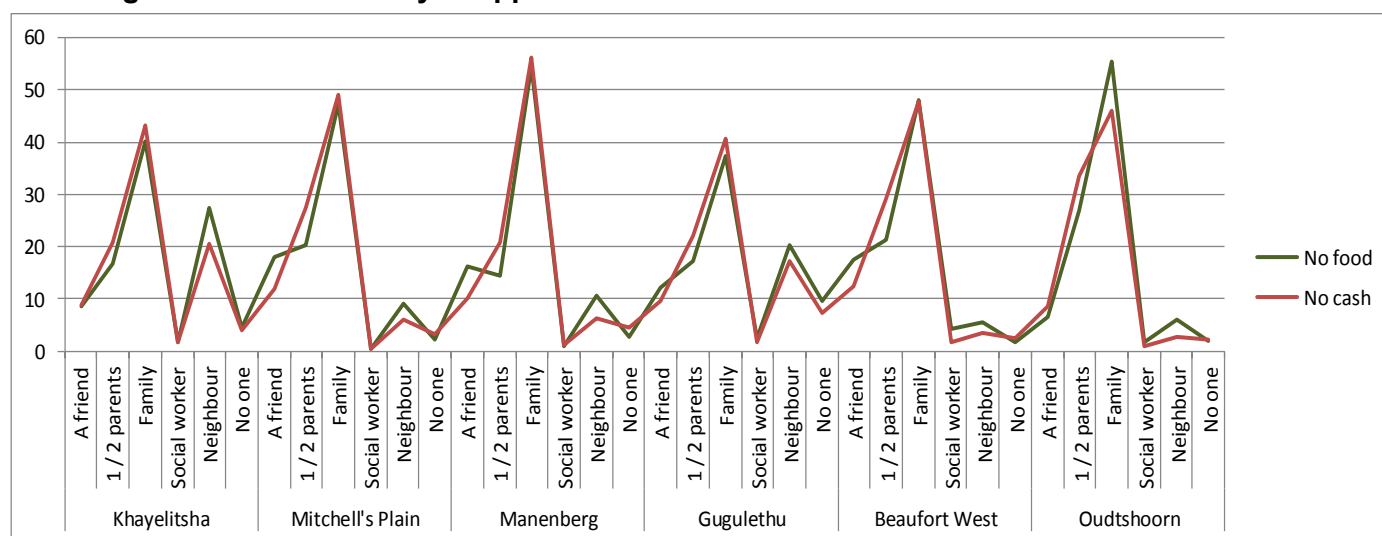
The question sketched a situation where, if the individual or their household had no food, who would they approach in the first instance. As shown in Figure 4.9, approaching parents and family constituted a response of 18.4% and 43.9% respectively while neighbours and friends were the 3rd (18.1%) and the 4th (12.6%) options chosen.

In the same context but this time the need was cash income, family was the first port of call for help (69.8%) whilst neighbours (13.3%) and friends (10.1%) were the 3rd and 4th sources for help.

These two scenarios demonstrated strong bonding social capital. The first scenario was clearly bonding social capital stock, particularly familial and agapéian bonding social capital.

Manenberg recorded over 70% for food and cash from family. Oudtshoorn rated responses of over 70% for food from parents and family, but cash was in the 65% range. Khayelitsha and Gugulethu rated their response for assistance with food and money to be family members with over 50% but also rated neighbours support for financial support at 27% and 20% respectively.

Figure 4.9: Who would you approach in the first instance?



Source: Survey data

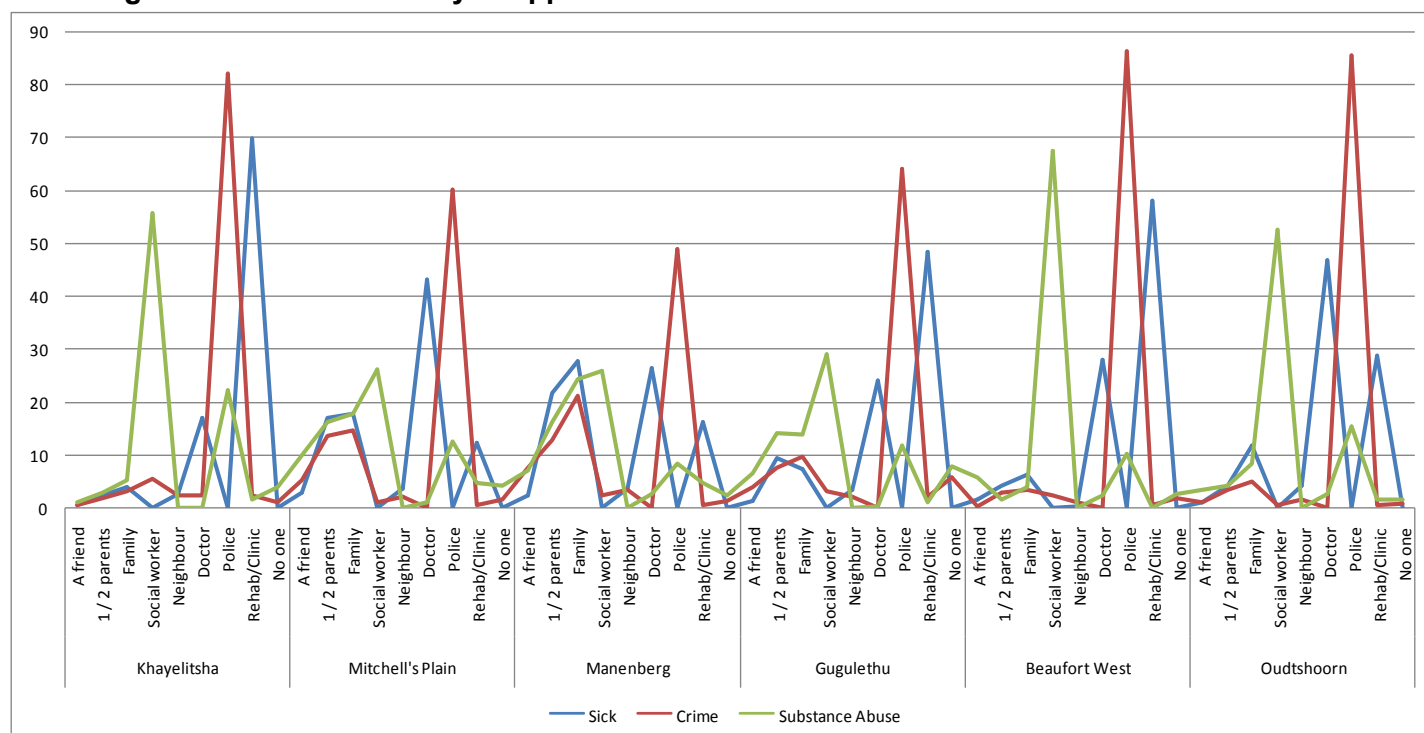
In exploring how youth deal with other needs requiring assistance and who they would approach most frequently when addressing an illness, 43.8% of the respondents indicated they would go to the clinic and 28.6% said they would go to a doctor. 19% said they would approach their family and 3.1% said they would go to a neighbour.

If youth or their households had been a victim of crime, 71.8% said they would go to the police, before going to parents 6.9%, family 8.5%, friends 2.8% and/or a social worker 3.3%.

When asked if they or someone in their household had a substance abuse problem who would they approach for assistance. The responses revealed that youth particularly in Beaufort West (67.5%), Khayelitsha (55.0%) and Oudtshoorn (52.7%) were more inclined to go to social workers to deal with this problem. Youth in Manenberg (40.3%) and in Mitchell's Plain (33.9%) preferred to go to their family and parents. In Khayelitsha (8.0%) and Beaufort West (5.3%) youth were considerably less inclined to approach their families for assistance.

Gugulethu youth indicated that they would approach family (28.1%) and social workers (28.9%) for assistance.

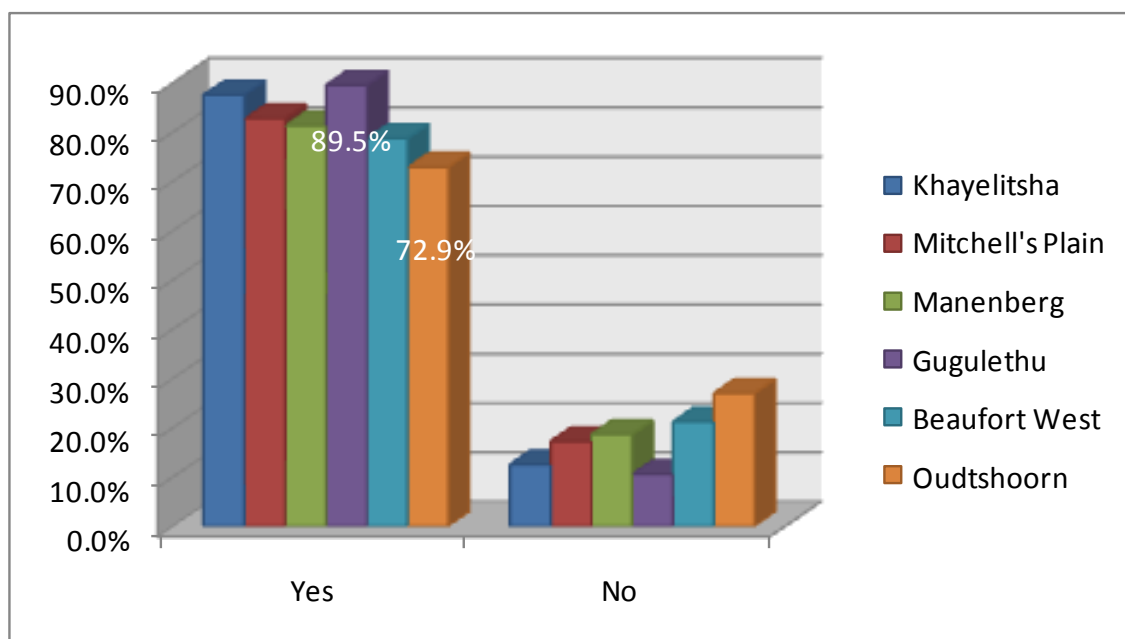
Figure 4.10: Who would you approach in the first instance?



4.4.2 YOUTH NETWORKS AND PARTICIPATION

Section E of the questionnaire focused on youth networks and participation in these networks. It also focused on the supportive networks young people have in their communities. Young people were asked about their friends and the types of relationships they have with them. When the respondents were asked if they had a family member with whom they had a special trusting relationship 84.9% said yes (Figure 4.11). Gugulethu had the highest rating of 89.5% and Oudtshoorn (72.9%) had the lowest rating for having trusted family relationship. The rest of the areas reported frequencies between 78.8% and 87.5%. Within this number 93.6% indicated that the person lived close by.

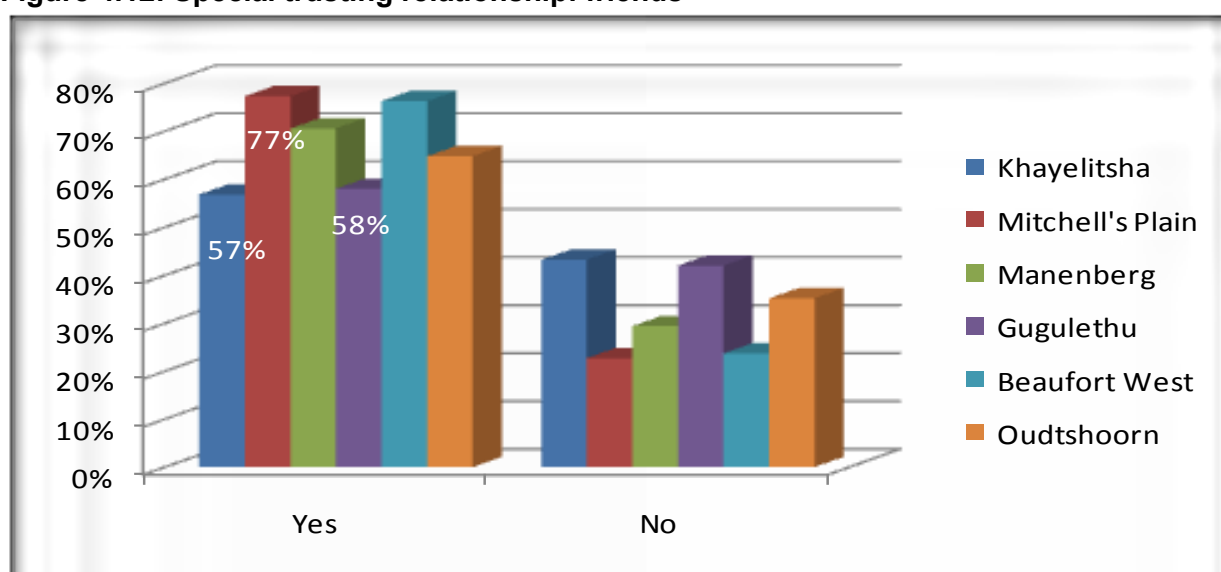
Figure 4.11: Special trusting relationship: family member



Source: Survey data

In the previous question Mitchell's Plain youth indicated the highest number of friends they trusted (77.0%). Whilst Gugulethu (89.5%) indicated the highest percentage of trusted family members, they (58.0%) and Khayelitsha (57.0%) indicated lower trust in friends. 71.6% of the respondents, who had trusted friends, responded seeing their friends every day and 20.4% responded seeing their trusted friend several times per week.

Figure 4.12: Special trusting relationship: friends



Source: Survey data

In Question 23 respondents were asked whether their household was receiving support from anyone outside of their household, they responded as follows: 28.7% said yes, while 71.2% said no. Within the 28.7%, the following areas recorded the highest level of external support, Beaufort West (42.2%) and Oudtshoorn (36.0%), both are rural areas in the province. When questioned regarding the relationship of the person supporting this household from the outside, 83.1% indicated family with 13.8% being friends, once again rating a high level of bonding social capital.

The networks/participations" section continued by exploring bridging social capital. The respondents were asked to indicate whether they were networked with friends of other ethnic groups, other language groups and other religious affiliations.

When the respondents were asked if they had a friend who spoke a different language, 49.3% answered yes. Mitchell's Plain had 71% and Manenberg indicated 56.7% having friends who spoke a different language. Khayelitsha had the lowest percentage (34.1%) of responses for friends speaking a different language. Beaufort West, Oudtshoorn and Gugulethu all responded with 43.0% to 49.6% as having friends who spoke a different language.

In Mitchell's Plain, Gugulethu and Oudtshoorn more young men than women had friends who spoke a different language.

With respect to the question whether the respondents had a friend who had a different religion, 52.6% said yes. Mitchell's Plain (82.5%) and Manenberg (73.4%) indicated the highest number of friends who had a different religion. Khayelitsha (33.0%) showed the lowest number of friends with a different religion.

The question about having a friend from a different ethnic group drew the following responses. Mitchell's Plain (59.4%) and Manenberg (53.7%) had more friends from different ethnic groups compared to Gugulethu which had 35.6% and Khayelitsha which had the lowest at 28.8%.

The researcher further explored the question of ethnicity and different religions by testing whether the young person operationalised him or herself as an individual or as part of a family, having friends of a different ethnic group in that community. In responding to the question whether the family socialised with people who practice different religions to themselves, Mitchell's Plain (47.7%) and Manenberg (35.2%) indicated that they frequently

engaged with people who practice other religions. While respondents from Gugulethu (30.2%), Oudtshoorn (31.4%) and Beaufort West (29.7%) indicated their families never socialise with people who practice other religions.

Table 4.17: Friends with a difference

		Khayelitsha n = 4449	Mitchell's Plain n = 3302	Manenberg n = 503	Gugulethu n = 918	Beaufort West n = 320	Oudtshoorn n = 440	All N = 9932
Different language	No	2931 (65.9)	956 (29.0)	218 (43.3)	521 (56.8)	161 (50.3)	248 (56.4)	5035 (50.7)
	Yes	1518 (34.1)	2346 (71.0)	285 (56.7)	397 (43.2)	159 (49.7)	192 (43.6)	4897 (49.3)
Different religion	No	2979 (67.0)	577 (17.5)	134 (26.6)	533 (58.1)	191 (59.7)	295 (67.0)	4709 (47.4)
	Yes	1470 (33.0)	2725 (82.5)	369 (73.4)	385 (41.9)	129 (40.3)	145 (33.0)	5223 (52.6)
Different ethnic group	No	3168 (71.2)	1340 (40.6)	233 (46.3)	591 (64.4)	169 (52.8)	262 (59.5)	5763 (58.0)
	Yes	1281 (28.8)	1962 (59.4)	270 (53.7)	327 (35.6)	151 (47.2)	178 (40.5)	4169 (42.0)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

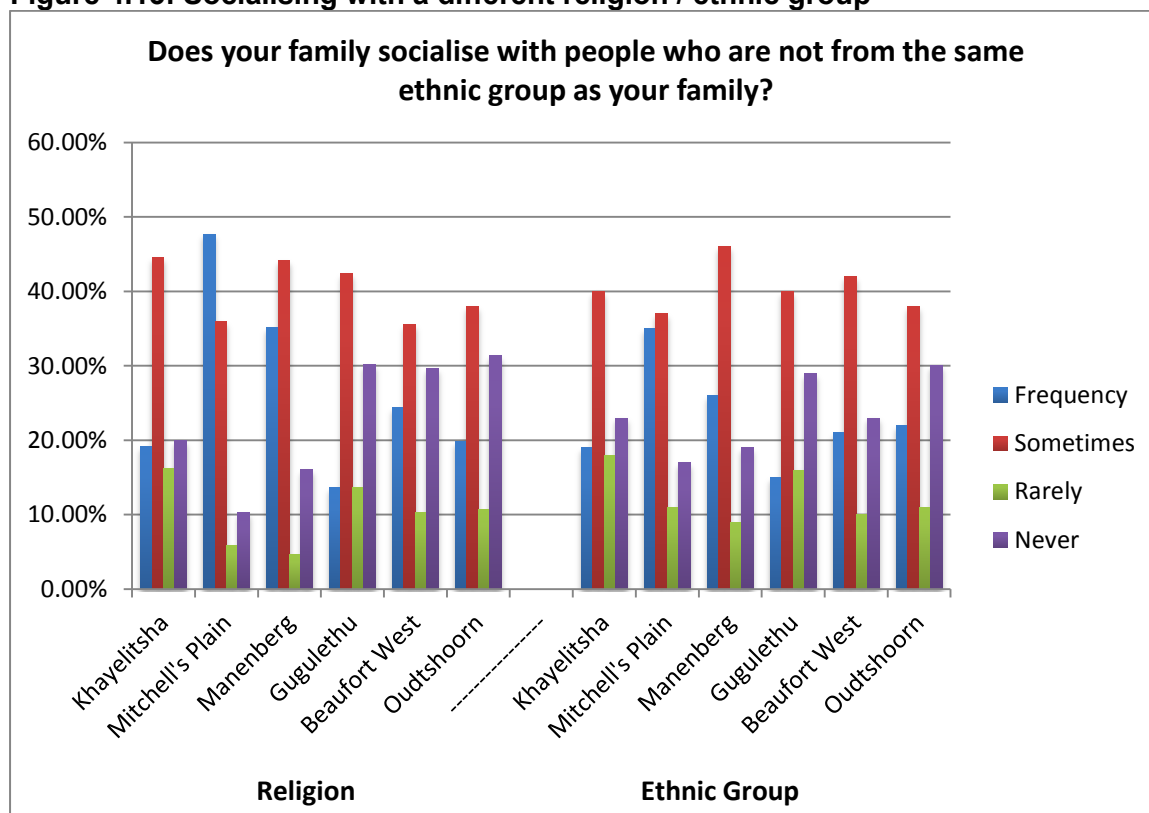
Source: Survey data

Furthermore, the young people also had to indicate if their families have some bridging networks established.

When inquiring whether their families socialise with people who are not of the same ethnic group Mitchells Plain (34.9%) and Manenberg (26.2%) frequently engaged socially, while Oudtshoorn (29.5%) and Gugulethu (28.9%) rarely engaged socially with people of other ethnic groups.

The results of the survey reflected that the youth in Mitchell's Plain and Manenberg and their families evidenced more bridging social capital more frequently than Khayelitsha and Gugulethu. Whilst bonding social capital is stronger in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu. There is also less evidence of bridging social capital in the rural areas of Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn. Mitchell's Plain families" was the only area which had over 45% responses for frequent contact with families of other religious affiliations, while Manenberg had frequent contact with over 30% of responses. Mitchell's Plain (34.9%) also had the highest frequency of contact with families of other ethnic groups.

Figure 4.13: Socialising with a different religion / ethnic group



Source: Survey data

In terms of participation, the respondents were asked to indicate whether they had participated in actions that are seen as civic activism, political protests, social movements and/or volunteerism, etc.

The following Table 4.19 below are examples of participation. In most of the participatory actions the number of respondents who had never participated was between 70% and 96% which was relatively high. The following actions, demonstrations, protest marches (87.3%), signed petitions (91.5%), boycotts (93.9%), strikes (92.4%) and occupied buildings (96.3%), fell into the no and never participating category.

On attending a community meeting 70.3% said they have never, while 13.7% said often and 15.8% said once. When youth were asked if they attended a community meeting, the respondents from the following areas, Mitchell's Plain (88.5%), Manenberg (80.1%) and Oudtshoorn (74.8%) said they never participated. The youth from Beaufort West (45.3%), Gugulethu (42.6%) and Khayelitsha (41.0%) participated in community meetings, "yes, once" and "yes, often".

When youth were asked if they had ever assembled with others in order to raise an issue, Oudtshoorn (81.6%), Mitchell's Plain (83.4%) and Manenberg (76.7%) said never. Gugulethu (34.1%), Beaufort West (27.8%) and Khayelitsha (23.3%) said yes.

On Imbizo¹ attendance 85.5% of the respondents reported that they never attended an Imbizo. Gugulethu (21.6%), Beaufort West (20.3%) and Khayelitsha (16.0%) respondents reported attendance at Izimbizo².

Table 4.18: Voted in national or local elections

Area	19 – 25 n = 5387	Voted Once [3] n = 1424	Voted Often [4] n = 1060	[3] & [4] n = 2484	Percent
Khayelitsha	2619	822	650	1472	(33.0)
Mitchell's Plain	1648	266	159	385	(11.6)
Manenberg	207	45	23	68	(13.5)
Gugulethu	524	204	146	350	(38.1)
Beaufort West	160	54	43	97	(30.3)
Oudtshoorn	229	73	39	112	(25.4)

Source: Survey data

The survey was conducted after four national elections and three local government elections for a democratic South Africa had been held, the youth were asked if they voted. As the voting age is 18 years and older, the researcher focussed on the second age cohort of the study. Manenberg (78.3%) and Mitchell's Plain (77.3%) showed the lowest level of voting because of their very high rates of never having voted. Within the age eligibility only 13.5% and 11.6% respectively indicated having voted.

The respondents within the 19 – 25 year age cohort indicated the following voting trends in the following areas: Gugulethu (38.1%), Khayelitsha (33.0%), Beaufort West (30.3%) and Oudtshoorn (25.4%).

Also indicated in the table below, is an answer to whether the respondents did voluntary work, 83.4% reported never doing voluntary work, 15.0% said they would if they had the opportunity and 16.6% said they did voluntary work. Gugulethu (21.6%), Beaufort West (21.6%) and Oudtshoorn (21.4%) indicated involvement in voluntary work.

Imbizo¹ - Xhosa word. Community meeting called by Government

Izimbizo² - Xhosa word. Plural for Community meeting called by Government

Table 4.19: Frequency distribution of civic participation

		Khayelitsha n = 4449	Mitchell's Plain n = 3301	Manenberg n = 503	Gugulethu n = 918	Beaufort West n = 320	Oudtshoorn n = 440	All N = 9931
Attended a community meeting	1	2626 (59.0)	2923 (88.5)	403 (80.1)	527 (57.4)	175 (54.7)	329 (74.8)	6983 (70.3)
	2	1823 (41.0)	378 (11.5)	100 (19.9)	391 (42.6)	145 (45.3)	111 (25.2)	2948 (29.7)
Got together with others in order to raise an issue	1	3411 (76.7)	2754 (83.4)	386 (76.7)	605 (65.9)	231 (72.2)	359 (81.6)	7746 (78.0)
	2	1038 (23.3)	547 (16.6)	117 (23.3)	313 (34.1)	89 (27.8)	81 (18.4)	2185 (22.0)
Attended a demonstration/ protest march	1	3935 (88.4)	2969 (89.9)	425 (84.5)	730 (79.5)	234 (73.1)	374 (85.0)	8667 (87.3)
	2	514 (11.6)	332 (10.1)	78 (15.5)	188 (20.5)	86 (26.9)	66 (15.0)	1264 (12.7)
Signed a petition	1	4189 (94.2)	2919 (88.4)	441 (87.7)	830 (90.4)	287 (89.7)	424 (96.4)	9090 (91.5)
	2	260 (5.8)	382 (11.6)	62 (12.3)	88 (9.6)	33 (10.3)	16 (3.6)	841 (8.5)
Joined a boycott	1	4119 (92.6)	3181 (96.4)	472 (93.8)	850 (92.6)	280 (87.5)	424 (96.4)	9326 (93.9)
	2	330 (7.4)	120 (3.6)	31 (6.2)	68 (7.4)	40 (12.5)	16 (3.6)	605 (6.1)
Joined a strike	1	4089 (91.9)	3100 (93.9)	467 (92.8)	823 (89.7)	276 (86.3)	422 (95.9)	9177 (92.4)
	2	360 (8.1)	201 (6.1)	36 (7.2)	95 (10.3)	44 (13.8)	18 (4.1)	754 (7.6)
Occupied a building or factory	1	4258 (95.7)	3209 (97.2)	484 (96.2)	870 (94.8)	310 (96.9)	431 (98.0)	9562 (96.3)
	2	191 (4.3)	92 (2.8)	19 (3.8)	48 (5.2)	10 (3.1)	9 (2.0)	369 (3.7)
Attended IMBIZO	1	3737 (84.0)	2943 (89.2)	451 (89.7)	720 (78.4)	255 (79.7)	389 (88.4)	8495 (85.5)
	2	712 (16.0)	358 (10.8)	52 (10.3)	198 (21.6)	65 (20.3)	51 (11.6)	1436 (14.5)
Did voluntary work in your community	1	3763 (84.6)	2799 (84.8)	403 (80.1)	720 (78.4)	251 (78.4)	346 (78.6)	8282 (83.4)
	2	686 (15.4)	502 (15.2)	100 (19.9)	198 (21.6)	69 (21.6)	94 (21.4)	1649 (16.6)

Note. 1 = No; 2 = Yes. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

4.4.3 TRUST

Section F of the questionnaire dealt with the question of trust, generalised trust which means trust towards people that were immediately part of their lives. It is quite illuminating to see that about 67.4% of the respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that they would generally trust the people in their areas.

When asked if people in their areas could be trusted, 54.1% disagreed and only 28.6% agreed. Beaufort West agreed (combination of agree and strongly agree) with the statement indicating a 47.8% rating and Oudtshoorn agreed with a 40.9% rating. The rest of the areas agreed indicating percentages of 20% to 29%. The lack of trust, though indicating disagreements (disagree and strongly disagree) with the statement was particularly evident in Mitchell's Plain (76.0%), Khayelitsha (73.8%), Manenberg (68.0%) and Gugulethu (66.0%) (Annexure H). The non-nodal (69.9%) areas disagreed more than the nodal (66.9%) areas.

In respect of testing the statement whether people living in their areas, if given a chance, would take advantage of them, 51% of the respondents agreed with the statement and 33.9% disagreed. Mitchell's Plain (70.9%) agreed strongly with the statement, followed by Manenberg (65.7%). The rest of the areas agreed with a rating of between 54.0% and 56%. Beaufort West respondents agreed with a 49.3% rating and disagreed with 47.5%. This was the closest to a 50/50 response to the question indicating that almost 50% of the respondents felt they would be taken advantage of by people in the Beaufort West area and vice versa. The nodal and non-nodal areas indicated similar results within a two percent variance supporting the agreement element.

Table 4.20: General Trust

Question Items		Geographical areas		All
		Nodal	Non-nodal	
Generally speaking most people living in your area can be trusted	Strongly disagree	919 (11.7)	361 (20.4)	1280 (13.3)
	Disagree	4350 (55.2)	875 (49.5)	5225 (54.1)
	Agree	2290 (29.1)	474 (26.8)	2764 (28.6)
	Strongly agree	322 (4.1)	59 (3.3)	381 (3.9)
	Total	7881 (100.0)	1769 (100.0)	9650 (100.0)
In general people living in your area would try, given the chance, to take advantage of you	Strongly agree	719 (9.2)	187 (10.4)	906 (9.4)
	Agree	3998 (51.3)	894 (49.6)	4892 (51.0)
	Disagree	2669 (34.3)	586 (32.5)	3255 (33.9)
	Strongly disagree	404 (5.2)	136 (7.5)	540 (5.6)
	Total	7790 (100.0)	1803 (100.0)	9593 (100.0)
People in your area will generally help each other out	Strongly disagree	278 (3.5)	109 (6.1)	387 (4.0)
	Disagree	1745 (22.1)	431 (24.1)	2176 (22.5)
	Agree	4906 (62.1)	1095 (61.2)	6001 (61.9)
	Strongly agree	972 (12.3)	153 (8.6)	1125 (11.6)
	Total	7901 (100.0)	1788 (100.0)	9689 (100.0)
If people in your area saw someone breaking into your house, they would do something to try and stop it	Strongly disagree	271 (3.5)	103 (5.8)	374 (3.9)
	Disagree	1167 (14.9)	265 (15.0)	1432 (14.9)
	Agree	4882 (62.2)	1090 (61.8)	5972 (62.1)
	Strongly agree	1530 (19.5)	306 (17.3)	1836 (19.1)
	Total	7850 (100.0)	1764 (100.0)	9614 (100.0)
People in your area would keep an eye on your home if you were away for a time	Strongly disagree	193 (2.4)	60 (3.4)	253 (2.6)
	Disagree	970 (12.3)	204 (11.6)	1174 (12.1)
	Agree	5277 (66.7)	1207 (68.4)	6484 (67.0)
	Strongly agree	1471 (18.6)	293 (16.6)	1764 (18.2)

Question Items		Geographical areas		All
		Nodal	Non-nodal	
	Total	7911 (100.0)	1764 (100.0)	9675 (100.0)
People who move to this area with same language are easily accepted opposed to people who speak a different language	Strongly disagree	537 (7.1)	120 (6.8)	657 (7.0)
	Disagree	2603 (34.3)	549 (31.3)	3152 (33.7)
	Agree	3831 (50.4)	910 (51.8)	4741 (50.7)
	Strongly Agree	624 (8.2)	177 (10.1)	801 (8.6)
	Total	7595 (100.0)	1756 (100.0)	9351 (100.0)
People tend to frequently move in and out of my immediate area	Strongly disagree	496 (6.9)	59 (3.3)	555 (6.2)
	Disagree	3051 (42.5)	645 (36.5)	3696 (41.3)
	Agree	3017 (42.0)	804 (45.5)	3821 (42.7)
	Strongly Agree	620 (8.6)	259 (14.7)	879 (9.8)
	Total	7184 (100.0)	1767 (100.0)	8951 (100.0)

Source: Survey data

On assessing whether people in their areas generally help each other out, 61.9% agreed with the statement whilst 22.5% of the respondents disagreed. Oudtshoorn (79.6%) and Beaufort West (78.8%) rated the agreement category in the high seventy percent range, whilst the highest disagreement was Gugulethu (29.5%) followed by Mitchell's Plain (28.8%) and Manenberg (23.2%). The nodal areas expressed a higher rating for agreeing with the statement.

Another scenario was posed, if people in these areas saw someone breaking into their houses, would they do something to prevent the crime, 62.1% agreed. With "strongly agree" and "agree" combined all the areas rated their response between 75% and 88%, with Oudtshoorn rating responses of 82.3%. This high degree of agreement was also evident in the responses to the scenario whether people would keep an eye on other people's homes while they go away for some time, "agree" and "strongly agree" was rated at 85.2%. The nodal areas again expressed a higher rating than the non-nodal areas.

In testing bridging social capital through the question, when people who speak the same language move into the area they are easily accepted as opposed to people who speak a different language, 50.7% agreed while 33.7% disagreed.

Whilst the areas agreed with the statement that newcomers to the area who speak the same language, are more readily accepted, Mitchell's Plain (74.3%), Oudtshoorn (67.2%), Manenberg (63.5%) and Khayelitsha (63.3%) rated this aspect lower, leading to 50.7% disagreeing with the statement articulating a better reception for newcomers to that area; Beaufort West (64.8%) had the highest agreed rating followed by Gugulethu (48.6%). The nodal (51.8%) areas disagreed more with this statement compared to the non-nodal areas (50.4%).

For social capital to thrive in communities it does require some stability in terms of the residents, in many instances the long term stability leads to an inflexible attitude to newcomers. The apartheid history in our country also separated people by race and language, in poor communities this pattern has persisted despite the change to democracy in South Africa. The next question tested the stability of the area by asking whether people move in and out in the youths' immediate area, 41.3% of the respondents disagreed with the statement while 42.7% agreed, if strongly agree is added, it aggregates to 52.5%. The communities which showed relatively more stability were Oudtshoorn (48.2%), Mitchell's Plain (46.8%) and Manenberg (45.0%). Beaufort West (48.8%), Khayelitsha (40.0%) and Gugulethu (39.2%) agreed with the statement that people frequently move in and out in their immediate area. Nodal areas agreed more and non-nodal areas disagreed more with the statement.

When testing the stock of social capital, respondents were asked who they would speak to if they had a problem. So the type of social capital that gets formed is more bonding than bridging social capital and linking social capital. The respondents in all areas responded with the parents being their first choice. The overall rating across the six areas in respect of parents was 42.4%. Friends (26.4%) and with other family members/spouse (26.2%) was rated second and third person or persons who young people would prefer to talk to if they had a problem.

Khayelitsha responded with 47.8% for dealing with a problem by speaking to parents and responded with the lowest frequency for going to a friend (18.7%). Mitchell's Plain respondents rated parents (36.9%) and friends (36.0%). The religious leader, social worker, NGO worker, teacher and stranger were only mentioned in the 1 to 1.3% range, as potential persons to approach if the young person had a problem. This response further establishes the stock of bonding social capital.

Table 4.21: Who would you talk to if you have a problem?

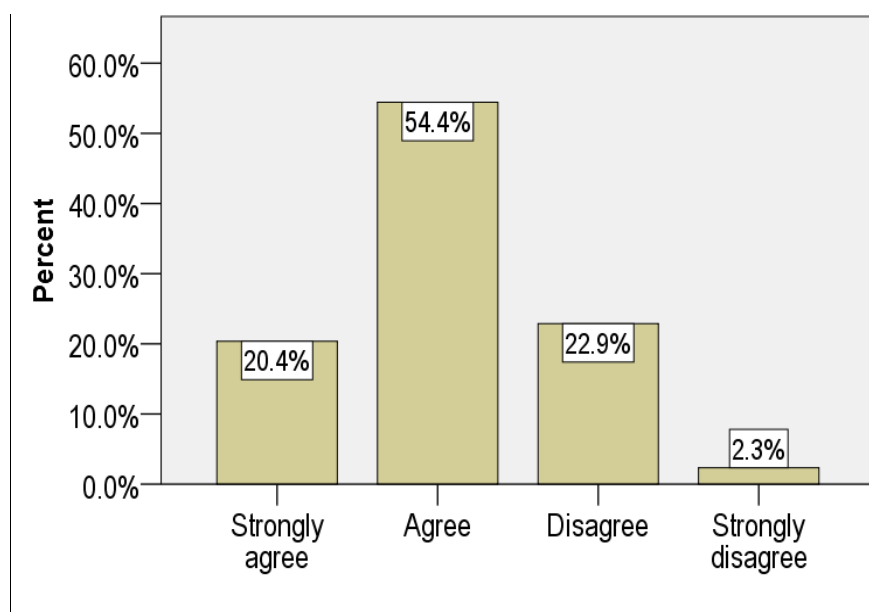
	Khayelitsha n = 4449	Mitchell's Plain n = 3301	Manenberg n = 503	Gugulethu n = 918	Beaufort West n = 320	Oudtshoorn n = 440
A friend	834 (18.7)	1188 (36.0)	159 (31.6)	218 (23.7)	106 (33.1)	116 (26.4)
One or both of your parents	2126 (47.8)	1218 (36.9)	191 (38.0)	377 (41.1)	114 (35.6)	187 (42.5)
A family member/ spouse	1330 (29.9)	717 (21.7)	116 (23.1)	268 (29.2)	72 (22.5)	102 (23.2)
A religious leader/ pastor	18 (0.4)	31 (0.9)	6 (1.2)	5 (0.5)	5 (1.6)	5 (1.1)
A social worker	40 (0.9)	45 (1.4)	7 (1.4)	16 (1.7)	10 (3.1)	11 (2.5)
A NGO worker	0 (0.0)	4 (0.1)	1 (0.2)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.6)	1 (0.2)
A teacher at school	15 (0.3)	19 (0.6)	7 (1.4)	8 (0.9)	2 (0.6)	5 (1.1)
Would prefer to speak to a stranger	7 (0.2)	5 (0.2)	0 (0.0)	5 (0.5)	2 (0.6)	8 (1.8)
I would not speak to anybody and keep the problem to myself	52 (1.2)	73 (2.2)	12 (2.4)	17 (1.9)	7 (2.2)	3 (0.7)
Other, specify	38 (0.9)	21 (0.6)	5 (1.0)	12 (1.3)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.5)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

When examining the respondents perceptions of whether their community perceived them in a negative light strong agreement (combination of strongly agree and agree) was raised in all the communities with the statement ranging from 71.6% to 82.2%; Manenberg (82.5%), Oudtshoorn (79.8%) and Gugulethu (77.3%) had the highest frequency, thus indicating the youth's perception that communities see youth in a negative light this could lead to negative social capital in their reaction to their communities. The overall rating was 54.4% agreement and 20.4% strongly agree with the negative sentiment.

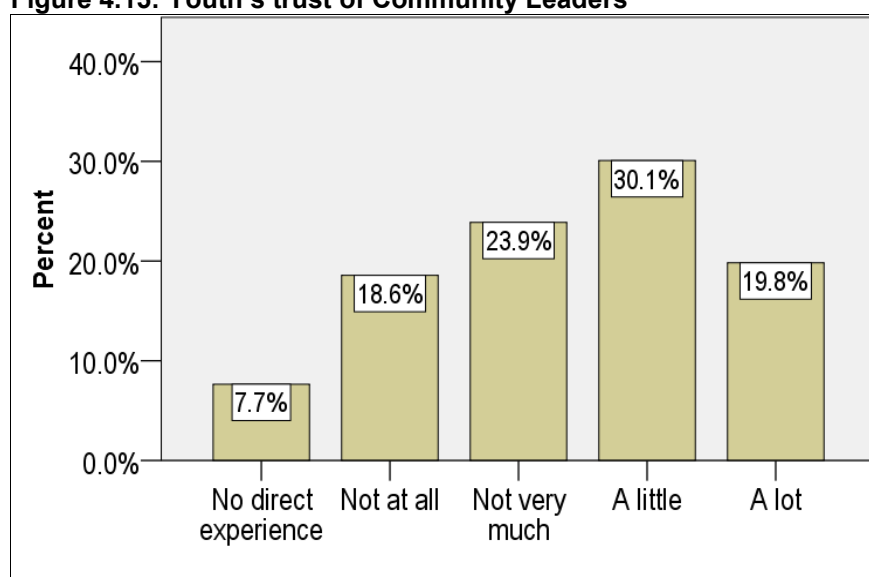
Figure 4.14: Communities' perception of youth



Source: Survey data

The youth responded to the trust of community leaders as follows: the category “a lot” (19.8%) and “a little” (30.1%). In response to whether they trusted community leaders, the “not very much” category was 23.9% and the “not at all” category was 18.6%. Khayelitsha (24.9%) indicated the least trust, while the rest of the areas rated this category between 15 and 19%. Manenberg (37.7%), Mitchell’s Plain (36.3%) and Oudtshoorn (32.0%) rated the “a little” category. The remaining areas were between 24% and 30%. Gugulethu (27.1%) represented the highest frequency of not trusting community leaders.

Figure 4.15: Youth's trust of Community Leaders



Source: Survey data

In responding to the question, if there was someone they could speak to about their future plans and who they would take guidance from, they answered yes (86.6%) for someone they could speak to and 13.0% answered they had no one. All areas indicated by majority that they had their parents to speak to with a rating of 45% to 60%. A relative, 19.7% to 26.5% was the next most frequently mentioned person and then a friend with a rating of 12.1% to 21.9%.

Table No.4.22: Who is the person youth speak to about their future plans?

	Khayelitsha n = 3837	Mitchell's Plain n = 2956	Manenberg n = 431	Gugulethu n = 756	Beaufort West n = 260	Oudtshoorn n = 358
One or both of my parents	2301 (60.0)	1638 (55.4)	218 (50.6)	379 (50.1)	124 (47.7)	161 (45.0)
The counsellor or guidance teacher at school	243 (6.3)	209 (7.1)	34 (7.9)	93 (12.3)	20 (7.7)	48 (13.4)
A relative	780 (20.3)	582 (19.7)	86 (20.0)	154 (20.4)	56 (21.5)	95 (26.5)
A friend	465 (12.1)	478 (16.2)	83 (19.3)	122 (16.1)	57 (21.9)	49 (13.7)
Religious leader / pastor	16 (0.4)	30 (1.0)	6 (1.4)	6 (0.8)	2 (0.8)	1 (0.3)
Other, specify	32 (0.8)	19 (0.6)	4 (0.9)	2 (0.3)	1 (0.4)	4 (1.1)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

4.4.4 ANALYSIS OF THEMATIC RESEARCH SUB-QUESTION TWO

The researcher will now through answering the research sub-question – what kinds of social capital exists, demonstrating the three types of social capital stock available and to what extent it is used by youth in the six areas.

It was evidenced that bonding social capital was present in these areas. As earlier stated, this choice of parents and family has led the researcher to introduce two types of bonding social capital: familial bonding social capital – refers to parents, spouses and family; agapéian bonding social capital – refers to role played by friends, neighbours and immediate area of residence. Pertaining to family and friends assisting in finding a job it appears that these communities do not have sufficient value added networks to assist the youth in finding employment. Only 13.1% of the sample reported „being employed“. Out of this number only 3.6% did work which was being or had been done by a member of their family. Within the 3.6%, 81.4% agreed that the familial bonding social capital assisted them in getting the job.

This percentage was made up of 643 females and 655 males (n=1298). 55.3% Of the respondents worked in the formal sector, remaining 44.7% worked in informal and casual labour sector. This study made the finding that family members helped the youth to find employment, but unemployment rate in this sample was 36.6%, lower than the country norm for youth unemployment of 48% (STATSSA, 2014). The Strathdee (2001) and the Magruder (2007) studies focussed on the parents' role in the youths job search, specifically the father. In the latter study based in South Africa, fathers helped their son's procure employment in the construction sector, the Strathdee study did not concur. This study did not attempt to answer the same question as to who in the family assisted whether father, mother, siblings, etc.

In the question of how youth who were unemployed went about their employment search, the majority responses were sending their CVs which, if the CV or covering letter is not correctly written, this would therefore not even yield an interview opportunity. Family and friends were asked to assist with the job search for employment, but as they do not have the required depth or embedded networks hence this led to an unsuccessful search. The network perspective identifies strong vertical and horizontal ties giving rise to a sense of identity. For networks to be leveraged to produce opportunities, the poor have to access formal institutions to create a more diverse stock of bridging and linking social capital. Youth should be encouraged to seek out learnerships so that they can produce some experience of work place life which would then be a linking social capital opportunity. Volunteering could also be an option to get into the work place but would require the use of bonding social capital, bridging social capital or linking social capital. This question revealed a minimum stock of bonding social capital, particularly familial bonding social capital and very little bridging social capital and a statistically insignificant stock of linking social capital.

In Question 17.1 when the impact and prevalence of substance abuse was tested per area Gugulethu (80.8%), Manenberg (78.3%) and Mitchell's Plain (67%) responded that this problem had a significant negative impact on young people's lives but showed far less reliance on public sector interventions in response to this question.

According to the 2010/11 Gender, Youth, Disability and Children's Budget Statements of the Western Cape provincial departments, gang violence together with the dramatic increase in drug abuse and drug-related crime increased in the poor communities of the Western Cape (PGWC, Audit Report, 2010 – 2011). Fear exists among the youth about speaking out or seeking help for fear of reprisals. There is a lack of confidence in the police because gangsters threaten the families of SAPS members. The province through its secretariat for

Community Safety comments that “this situation is further exacerbated by (a) the lack of knowledge in respect of the dangers of drug use and involvement in gangsterism by school going learners and the youth at large; (b) the lack of positive role models and life skills, particularly among youth at risk; (c) the limited access that drug users have to treatment opportunities” (PGWC Audit Report, 2011 - 2012). As earlier indicated, youth either went to social workers or their families with substance problems, rehabilitation centres had an under 5% of the responses across all six communities.

Stone (2001), states that social capital is a resource to collective action, the outcome of which is safety, prosperity and a well-functioning democracy. Therefore the researcher has measured the collective action experienced by the youth through the use of proxy indicator, social cohesion.

The proxy indicators of social cohesion and norms of trust and reciprocity were tested in Question 18 which gave the youth in the survey a voice to respond, based on what is referred to as youth respecting community particularly older persons and being helpful. It is seen as an opportunity for youth to adhere to societal rules and being socially beneficial to society. If this type of social capital is widely available the perceptions of community should change and community would be more cohesive. The National Youth Policy emphasises the fact that social cohesion allows youth to exercise their rights and responsibilities as part of a shared value system of respect and dignity embraced in the human rights culture in our constitution (NYP, 2009-14:29). Authors refer to social cohesion in terms of social justice (Chidester et al, 2003: 1-23), internal solidarity and mutual support (Geddes, 1998:20) which produces a climate for change that ensures benefits and protection to the whole society (Ritzen, 2000:5-6).

Bonding social capital was further demonstrated through six scenarios. Youth responded to the scenario of helping people other than their families with more than 60% and with the qualification of knowing the person it was over 80%. The scenario of giving up a seat while using public transport for an older person received a 70% plus response for all areas, signifying high stocks of agapéian bonding social capital. This activity is seen as a normative conforming value of helping others.

Two of the scenarios involved helping neighbours. Strong neighbourhood bonds build social cohesion in communities. A moderate stock of agapéian bonding social capital was evidenced in looking after neighbours children and changing a neighbour's tyre. The youth of

Gugulethu displayed a tendency of preference for having a relationship with the neighbour before agreeing to help.

Neighbourhood interactions can immediately improve the living conditions because it increases the potential to absorb shocks and sufficient accumulation of interactions leads to the development of social capital (Woolcock, 2000; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1993).

The remaining two scenarios looked at the broader community in terms of attending a cultural celebration. Generally it is understood that non participation in cultural activities leads to disempowerment. The youth in this survey could be described as disadvantaged and needing empowerment interventions which need to be designed to build social capital to reintegrate them, as some of them through poverty, crime and substance abuse have become excluded from the socio-economic mainstream. These authors (Madanipour et al, 1998:9; Cousins, 1998:130-1; Putnam, 1993, 1995) address the participation in community cultural and kinship networks as being significant in determining the stock of social capital. The unqualified “yes” resulted in Manenberg (51.9%) and Mitchell’s Plain (50.0 %) showing better participation rates than Beaufort West (49.0%), Oudtshoorn (46.8%) and Khayelitsha (40.6%). This evidenced moderate bridging social capital. Gugulethu (33.0%) youth evidenced low bridging social capital in respect of their participation in a community cultural event.

The last scenario elicited a response of offering a lift to someone of the community, Mitchell’s Plain (69.2%) and Manenberg (67.2%) reflected high stock of bridging social capital while Oudtshoorn (59.3%), Beaufort West (55.9%), Gugulethu (44.0%) and Khayelitsha (43.0%) reflected moderate stock of bridging social capital. Early indicators of stock existence of bridging social capital also exists in poor communities but it is linked to “helping” out not necessarily on the cultural front as in the scenario above. Non-attendance could have a variety of yet untested reasons.

The youth in this survey were further asked if they were in a situation of need, who would be the first person or place they would turn to for help in the instances of no food and no money. Family and parents was the first choice, in Oudtshoorn (no food 82.3%, no cash 79.5%), Beaufort West (no food 69.0%, no cash 77.2%), Manenberg (no food 68.7%, no cash 77.1%) and Mitchell’s Plain (no food 67.6%, no cash 76.4%). This first choice reflected a high stock of familial bonding social capital. A moderate stock of this familial bonding social capital was evidenced in Khayelitsha (no food 56.8%, no cash 64.0%) and Gugulethu (no food 54.7%, no cash 62.6%) because family and parents as a first choice received a lower

response rate. The lower rate of support could be evidencing the fatigue of familial bonding social capital because of the limited resources in poor families (World Bank, 2003).

It is significant to note that neighbours played a key role in meeting these needs of youth and households in Khayelitsha (no food 27.3%, no cash 26.4%) and Gugulethu (no food 20.2%, no cash 17.3%), while Mitchell's Plain (no food 17.9%, no cash 11.8%) reversed this trend replacing it with friends being next after family and parents. These categories, friends, neighbours and neighbourhood fall into the agapéian bonding social capital.

Through these social interactions in the family, neighbourhoods and the broader community assets are accrued as described in Kretzmann and McKnight's Asset Based Community Development approach (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003). The findings in the study demonstrate the range of the assets which the researcher rates as low, moderate or high. The ABCD approach and the above findings resonate with the Communitarian and Network perspective which recognises "a range of valuable services for community members" ranging from babysitting, house-minding to job referrals and emergency cash" (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). This is predominantly done through bonding and bridging social capital, as was evidenced in the scenarios sketched in Question 18 and 22.

Linking social capital was more apparent in Beaufort West, Khayelitsha and Oudtshoorn. Bonding social capital was more evident in Manenberg and Mitchell's Plain. Gugulethu demonstrated both bonding and linking social capital. In the overall responses whilst 4185 (42.1%) of the 9932 respondents went to the social workers, 1659 (16.7%) went to the South African Police Services (SAPS) for help. Khayelitsha (22.2%) represented the highest frequency and Manenberg (8.3%) as the lowest frequency of responses to approaching the police. This question further demonstrated high levels of trust in both social workers and police particularly in Khayelitsha (77.2%), Beaufort West (77.8%) and Oudtshoorn (68.0%).

Lower levels of responses to the social workers and the police came from Gugulethu (40.0%), Mitchell's Plain (38.0%) and Manenberg (34.0%). But notwithstanding this fact youth still wanted to use the public service to deal with these specific problems. Manenberg is an area which has experienced an excessive amount of gang violence which has even evidenced itself in the schools. As a result the community has constantly accused the police of being intimidated by the gangs and drug lords or colluding with them, hence the low level of trust. These findings support the work of Burton (2012) and Burton and Leoschut (2013) in the Situational Analysis (Annexure B).

Khayelitsha and Beaufort West are both nodal areas, whilst Mitchell's Plain is also a nodal area, it's response to the public sector was in the lower 50% decile in using the police and social workers. This is important to note because additional resources have been allocated to nodal areas by National and Provincial Government which employs the police and social workers.

Question 19 identified stock in certain areas of linking social capital, consisting of youth interaction and relations with organisations and institutions (Woolcock, 2000). This indicates an improved trust between government and society in certain areas as a result of utilisation patterns (Presidency, 2004).

A critical proxy indicator of the presence of social capital is trust. Fukuyama (1999) comments that trust functions like a lubricant, providing fluidity in the running of groups and networks to ensure reciprocal efficiency. Networks of support may be available to youth but if there is no trust then development of the youth will be stalled. Opportunities could be lost or under-utilised if the credibility of the networks or institutions is suspect. The issues as indicated in research sub-question one raised by the youth require confidentiality, an understanding of youth behaviour and needs.

Of the youth surveyed, each area responded to having a trusted family member who lived close by, the overall responses ranged from 72.9% to 89.5%. These results place the researcher in a position to safely place a high stock value on this aspect in terms of familial bonding social capital.

Mitchell's Plain (77.3%), Beaufort West (76.3%) and Manenberg (70.6%) all indicated high stock levels of agapéian bonding social capital as seen by the identification of a trusted friend who they could approach for assistance. Moderate stock of agapéian social capital was raised by Gugulethu (58.0%), Khayelitsha (56.8%) and Oudtshoorn (64.8%) by indicating that they had a trusted friend who lived close by.

The respondents in addressing whether their households were supported by person/persons not part of the households responded as follows: positive responses (yes) were 28.7%. Beaufort West (42.2%) recorded the most responses for support to their household from outside and Mitchell's Plain (18.3%) demonstrated the lowest support. The remaining areas rated this type of support between 21.8% and 35.9% evidencing reciprocity. The support was from a family member (83.1%) and friends to a lesser degree. This further strengthens

the familial bonding social capital stock. Familial bonding social capital is also known as exclusive social capital because it is based on inner connection between people.

The next section of the analysis deals with the stock of bridging social capital as it pertains to the youth and their families. The first three questions enquired from the youth whether they had a friend who had a different language to themselves, practiced a different religion to their own and was not from the same ethnic group as themselves. Mitchell's Plain displayed a high level of stock of bridging social capital of 70%. This was particularly evident when youth of Mitchell's Plain responded with a rating of 82.5% to having friends with a different religious affiliation to themselves. Manenberg (61.3%) indicated high moderate stocks of bridging social capital. Their religious differences again raised a high stock value of 73.4% but the average of the three questions resulted in the moderate stock of bridging social capital. Mitchell's Plain and Manenberg youth showed a greater propensity to embrace diversity.

The Communitarian view stresses that both bonding and bridging social capital resources in a community produces more resources for the youth (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

To further test the stock of bridging social capital, the researcher asked two questions about the families of the youth. In response to the questions of whether their families socialise with people of different religious and ethnic groups, Mitchell's Plain showed a moderate stock of bridging social capital. Manenberg, like Mitchell's Plain also received higher averages on the two questions, "frequently" 30.1% and "sometimes" 45.0%. The other areas responded with a low stock of social capital with their "rarely" and "never" percentages, Gugulethu (44.0%), Oudtshoorn (40.4%), Khayelitsha (36.7%) and Beaufort West (36.2%).

Beaufort West (45.1%), Gugulethu (40.2%) and Oudtshoorn (38.7%) indicated a moderate stock of bridging social capital. Khayelitsha (31.9%) demonstrated the lowest level of bridging social capital. This could be as a result of a lack of opportunity and networks in these poor urban areas, Khayelitsha also had a lower percentage of its youth 26.6 % who were scholars attending schools outside of the area. In Mitchell's Plain, 74.7% of its youth attended schools in their residential area which indicates that those schools possibly provided them with more opportunities to embrace diversity leading to a higher stock of bridging social capital as the area was established after forced removals from different areas in Cape Town which became exclusively white residential areas.

Bridging social capital derives benefits from inclusive or diverse networks which embraces the heterogeneity of communities which have people of different religious affiliations, language and ethnicity. (Putnam, 2000; Scull, 2001; Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2001; Adhikari, 2008; Stone & Hughes, 2002) This study's findings demonstrated a presence of bridging social capital evidencing moderate levels of diversity in particularly two areas: Mitchell's Plain and Manenberg which is considered "coloured preferential" areas as part of the former government's spatial planning by race, nevertheless integration had started since 1994 because African middle class home buyers can make choices. Khayelitsha, despite being a largely informal area established in the 1980's demonstrated the lowest level of bridging social capital. The residents were essentially migrant workers from the Eastern Cape who left the migrant hostels to start families or bring the families in from the Eastern Cape. The hostels were single men's quarters. The bridging social capital is understood to be derived from better social cohesion and provide another level of opportunity for youth development beyond the predominantly familial bonding social capital.

Bridging social capital, while labelled as weak ties (Granovetter, 1973), provides linkages to distant acquaintances and is at times more valuable in its social resource acquisition process because it broadens the authors' range to opportunities, particularly for more sustainable resources, for example, a job or bursary information. (OCED, 2001; Stone & Hughes, 2002; Putnam, 2000)

Reciprocity and social cohesion are proxy indicators of social capital. The indication of higher levels of stock would require high levels of participation in networks. The Network perspective describes these relationships as dense or strong ties providing crucial social, psychological and basic needs support to less fortunate members of the family (Putnam, 2000; Granovetter, 1973; Enfield, 2008; Field, 2003). This participation helps youth to become valued members in their communities contributing to its social cohesion and development. Real or perceived, if youth do not value their participation as a key contributor, it entrenches their further exclusion. Participation and utilisation trends are dependent on the reciprocal nature of the interaction, the participation will cease if no gain or impact is felt by the youth themselves. Reciprocity reflects mutual giving and receiving which can be accumulated as assets which lead to a stream of benefits. Communities, individuals and families know that today it is my turn to give because I can; tomorrow the situation could be reversed and I will receive. There is no written agreement but it also produces a cynical response that there is no free lunch (Coate & Ravillion, 1993; Fehr et al, 1997; Putnam, 2001; Grootaert & Van Bastelaer, 2001). This lack of participation also then elicits negative community perceptions of the youth.

Youth were asked if they had participated in community based activities to show concern, solidarity and political interaction. Ten activities were proposed but the responses showed very low participation, which was almost statistically insignificant. Therefore, the researcher looked at the top five activities where the average weight was ten percent (10%) and more.

Non-participation was rated between 70% and 95%. This is significant in understanding the stock of social capital. Reciprocity and social cohesion is far less evident in communities where there are low levels of participation in community activities and networks. Further research is required to deepen the understanding of why the participation level was so low, as reflected in this research. This evidence indicates low levels of social capital in terms of all four perspectives of Woolcock and Narayan (2000) communitarian, networks, institutional and synergy.

This research points to areas of concern about programmes not having impact despite it targeting the youth. If social capital is the glue that holds society together, the fabric of society, then these research results show why youth experience so many challenges. If youth have to resolve the problems together with others through bridging and linking social capital, active participation will be required. Why is it then, when opportunities are created they were not using them? What drives non participation, fear, lack of trust, inappropriate programmes and/or a lack of youth appropriate language? During the discussion groups it was noted that the youth were initially involved in community activities as children with their families but stopped to focus on academic responsibilities and changes in their circumstances, such as growing job losses in the households contributing to the change responses.

The question of participation elicited responses of activities over a two year period. The question offered 11 options (Question 30) the researcher focused on the activities that demonstrated a 8.5% to 15.9% response rate of participation in the “yes, once” category. Despite this length of time, participation was still very low.

In looking specifically at the five activities the following was evidenced, with regard to attendance at community meetings, Beaufort West (22.6%), Gugulethu (21.2%) and Khayelitsha (20.4%), this level of attendance is based on the “yes, once” category. This activity demonstrated the highest level of participation with an average of 25%. The remaining areas attendance was lower, Oudtshoorn (12.6%), Manenberg (9.9%) and Mitchell’s Plain (5.6%).

In responding to the option of raising an issue of concern three areas responded with over 10%, Gugulethu (17.0%), Beaufort West (13.9%) and Khayelitsha (11.6%) as an answer to the “yes, once” category. The remaining areas were under 10%. It again raises either a deficit or apathy of youth or the lack of available platforms to raise issues in these six areas.

The next largest area of participation was whether the youth had exercised their political vote in an election bearing in mind that 45.8% of the respondents were aged 15 to 18 years. Gugulethu (20.2%), Khayelitsha (18.4%), Oudtshoorn (16.5%) and Beaufort West (16.8%) responded as having voted once during the past two years. Mitchell’s Plain (6.8%) and Manenberg (4.5%) indicated very low levels of participation which reduced the stock of social capital in these areas.

A similar low participation trend was evidenced on the issues of protests and Izimbizo. Volunteerism is the pinnacle of reciprocity, youth refer to this reward as the feel good or soul food rewards, and community plough back³, yet the survey results point to the following: Oudtshoorn (21.4%), Gugulethu (21.6%) and Beaufort West (21.6%) demonstrated these rates of participation which defined low stock of social capital. Manenberg (19.9%), Mitchell’s Plain (15.2%) and Khayelitsha (7.6) rated their participatory stock for community plough back even lower, below 10%. This provided evidence of a porous social fabric in these areas. This aspect is so important, particularly as this participation is supposed to be the glue (World Bank, 2003). The National Youth Policy (2009:29) indicated that if youth participate fully in the society they reside in, particularly if social cohesion activated as community service (Communitarian view), civic participation and volunteering (Network View), youth will strengthen their networks and sense of self-worth and belonging and will be less inclined to involve themselves in risky behaviours. More quality relations are then built which will increase the existing stock of social capital in enabling the youth to achieve their aspirations.

The attendance and participation in community activities signifies a pre-existing stock of social capital in the form of social cohesion, no matter how low the rating is as indicated in his research. Existing social capital must be used as a basis to build stronger social connectedness to ensure positive youth development organisations, networks, business groups and government on both micro and macro level (Coleman, 1990; Woolcock, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Saguaro Group, 2001; Harpham, 2004; Enfield, 2008).

3. Plough back: colloquial term for returning to the area in which you grew up to help develop the community as a role model or professional.

To test trust as part of social capital formation, seven statements were presented to the respondents, from the findings the following analysis is made. With regards to the statement, generally speaking most people living in your area can be trusted. In the Table 4.20 only 28.6% of the respondents agreed that people in their community could be trusted. Manenberg (57.2%), Mitchell's Plain (55.3%), Gugulethu (54.6%) and Khayelitsha (54.1%) disagreed with the statement, while Beaufort West (47.8%) and Oudtshoorn (41.4%) agreed. In response to the statement, that generally people living in their area, if given the chance, would take advantage of them. All the respondents from the six areas agreed with the statement with a percentage ranging from 45% to 59.9%. The nodal and non-nodal areas had similar ratings within a two percent variance of agreement.

With respect to the statement, people in your area will generally help each other out. This finding resulted in a high stock rating of agreement (agree and strongly agree) for Oudtshoorn (79.6%), Beaufort West (78.8%), Manenberg (76.8%), Mitchell's Plain (71.3%) and Gugulethu (70.6%). The other area which evidenced a moderate stock rating was Khayelitsha (59.0%).

The statement, if someone saw someone breaking into their house they would do something to stop this occurrence, elicited the following responses. Oudtshoorn (73.6%) and Beaufort West (68.0%) demonstrated high stock of social capital by agreeing. The other five areas showed moderate stock by agreeing as follows: Gugulethu (65.3%), Khayelitsha (60.6%), Mitchell's Plain (59.4%) and Manenberg (57.3%).

Community trust was further tested by the statement that, if the person was away for some time, people in the area would keep an eye on their house. The element of "agree" and "strongly agree" raised the stock to a high level across all the areas as a result of the 83% rating.

With regard to the statement when people came into the areas and they spoke the same language they would be easily accepted, 50.7% of respondents across all areas agreed. Mitchell's Plain (74.3%) and Oudtshoorn (67.2%) disagreed, demonstrating high levels of bridging social capital. Through their agreement, Beaufort West (64.8%), Gugulethu (48.6%), Khayelitsha (36.7%) and Manenberg (36.5%) demonstrated moderate levels of bonding social capital. The general sense from the evidence rated disagreement higher (50.7%).

The final statement in this series focussed on the stability of communities testing if there was a high turnover of people in the youth's immediate area. The question focused on whether

people were continually moving in and out in the respondent's immediate area. Beaufort West (48.8%), Khayelitsha (40.0%) and Gugulethu (39.2%) agreed, confirming a high turnover and Oudtshoorn (48.2%), Mitchell's Plain (46.8%) and Manenberg (45.0%) disagreed, signifying slightly more stability in their neighbourhood.

Place attachment appears to be a vital component in the stock of social capital. A sense of belonging and trust in a community will improve a young person's quality of life and decrease symptoms of stress (Schaefer & McDaniel, 2004).

Social capital formation is dependent on community stability. If there is a high turnover in an area it raises the levels of mistrust. Networks within the social capital context are built and maintained by trust. Micro level social capital consists of horizontal organisations on the cognitive strata which operate at a family, household and community level (Woolcock, 2001; Krishna & Shrada, 1999; Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2001; Hopkins, 2002).

Woolcock (2001) and Putnam (2001) both agree that trust is declining in society and more so in poor communities. This is largely due to their vulnerability as a result of unfilled promises, as in the South African context, a lack of safety and security and employment. This declining trust weakens the protection, care and concern in a community. The evidence produced in this study rated the rural areas, Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn with an overall higher level of community trust than the four urban areas.

The challenges above invariably reduces social capital in an area, trust is a proxy indicator youth tend to bear witness to families speaking to the generations of families living in their area and this knowledge strengthens trust. Many years of deprivation under apartheid has led to societal decay and mistrust. There continues to be a need for the mending of the social fabric, re-inserting the glue and the revitalisation of caring, societal values and Ubuntu⁴. In order for the youth to be in concert with the broader transformation particularly of these poor communities, this process has to be intensified for the sense of connectedness and belonging, consequently social capital can be formed.

Question 32 and Question 40.1 tested the stock of all social capital types (Annexure F). The youth were asked to respond to the questions of who they could speak to if they had a problem or concerns about their plans for the future. "Parents" were the overwhelming

4. Ubuntu: Ubuntu is an ancient African word meaning 'humanity to others'. It also means 'I am what I am because of who we all are'.

response by all the respondents to both questions ranging from 36% to 51%. “Spouse” and “family” as responses further strengthened the approach to go to family, which further evidenced familial bonding social capital stock. Supporting the assumptions asserted by Bebbington (1999), of the role of the family in opportunities created, further evidences familial bonding social capital stock. Family life in poor areas constitutes many typologies, beyond the nuclear family. Many of the youth respondents reside with single parents, mainly mothers and grandmothers. The divorce rate in South Africa is also high. So whilst familial bonding social capital is better stocked it comes with many permutations: foster families, extended families and step families. To further expand on this, the impact of Aids in South Africa has seen the phenomena of child-headed households and youth-headed households.

However, Mitchell’s Plain and Beaufort West also ranked their friends in the same decile as their parents, 36.0% (friends) and 36.9% (parents) and 33.1% (friends) and 35.6 % (family). This further emphasised the two types of bonding social capital stock of family (familial) and friends (agapéian).

With regard to whether the perceptions and trust issues with regard to community and community leaders contributed to the stock of social capital, the respondents overall (54.4%) agreed that the community had a negative perception of the youth. Consequently, there was mistrust or little trust for community leaders” as evidenced by the rating of 30.1% and 23.9% for “not very much”. “A lot” (19.8%) and “not at all” (18.6%) was rated in the under twenty percent decile with regard to the trust or lack thereof in respect of community leaders. Beaufort West (64.1%) agreed the most with the statement that their community had a negative perception of them. Gugulethu (32.5%) “strongly agreed” with the statement and when the category “agreed” was added, it amounted to 77.3%. Oudtshoorn (79.8%) and Manenberg (82.5%) also had a high percentage for the “strongly agree” and “agree” category. No area discounted this statement, leaving youth feeling excluded and a sense of being devalued. This definitely indicated low stocks of social capital. Gugulethu (53.4%) showed through their response to the lack of trust of community leaders in their response to the elements “not very much” and “not at all” resulting in the highest level of mistrust of all the areas. The other areas rated these two categories between 41.8% and 45.1%. When the element “a little” was added it was almost 80%. This little trust limits the youth’s participation as a valued citizen in community activities, leading to further social exclusion, as described in Geddes (1998).

This sub-question investigated the types of social capital that exists among the youth. The main framework perspectives of the Communitarian and Network Views assisted the

researcher in her analysis. The indicators that were measured were social cohesion, trust, reciprocity, membership and participation in networks.

The familial bonding social capital stock was evidenced predominantly among the youth, followed by agapéian bonding social capital. To a lesser degree bridging social capital stock was limited, averaging low levels, particularly in relation to the police and community leaders.

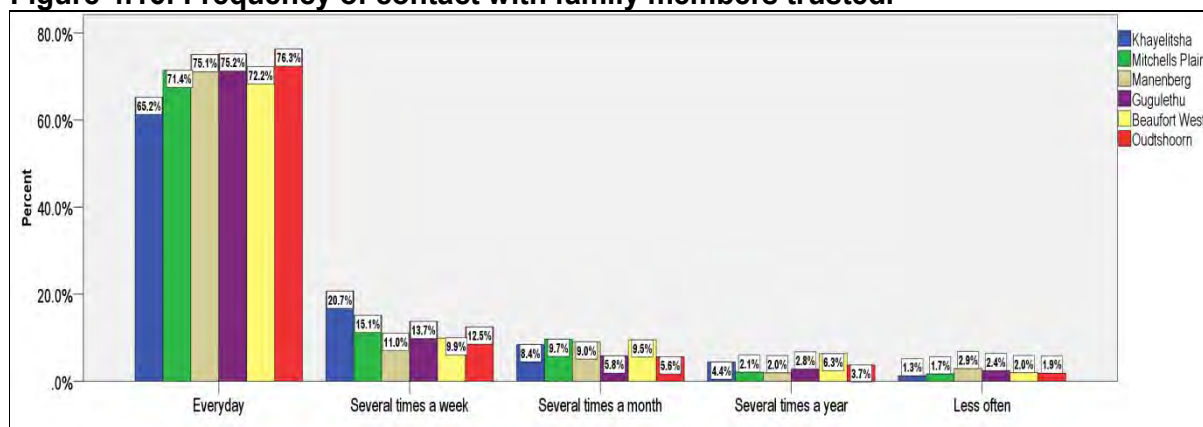
4.5: FINDINGS OF THEMATIC RESEARCH SUB-QUESTION THREE

The thematic research sub-question focuses on the findings related to youth accessing potential opportunities. In responding to the question of the location of the schools or institutions attended by the respondents, Oudtshoorn (98.3%), Beaufort West (97.0%), and Mitchell's Plain (74.4%) and Khayelitsha (73.4%) had a high frequency of local school attendance. While Manenberg (56.2%), Gugulethu (20.0%) indicated low levels of local school attendance (Table 4.9). The low level school attendance indicated that friendship networks and institutional networks (extra mural school activities) are outside of the areas in which they live in. This indicates strengthened bridging social capital.

In figure 4.11, 13.1% of the youth surveyed worked. The respondents were asked if a member of their family did the same work as they do. Within the working youth, 27.7% said they were doing the same job as a member of their family. Of the 360 respondents who said they were doing the same job as a relative, 293 (81.4%) agreed that having a relative who did the same job helped them to secure employment. Khayelitsha (89.9%), Gugulethu (81.8%) and Mitchell's Plain (81.6%) all rated this element in the eighty percent decile. Beaufort West (69.2%), Manenberg (67.7%) and Oudtshoorn (66.7%) agreed that a family member having the same job classification assisted them and rated their responses in the sixty percent decile.

When the respondents were asked about having a special trusting relationship with a family member, only 84.9% said yes and within that number 93.6% indicated that the person lived close by. Gugulethu (89.5%) indicated the highest number of trusted family members living close by, while Oudtshoorn (72.9%) recorded the lowest number but still over 50%. 69.3% Of respondents reported having daily contact, 17% responded with weekly contact and 8.5% responded monthly contact. Bonding social capital is higher in Gugulethu than in Mitchell's Plain. In this instance, a final aggregate of stock will only be realised when all elements are accumulated.

Figure 4.16: Frequency of contact with family members trusted.



The researcher further explored the level of trust by asking if the youth had a trusted friend. Only 65.4% of the youth reported having such a friendship and of that number, 85.0% responded to living close by and 71.6% responded seeing this friend every day. 11.9% Responded seeing their trusted friend several times per week.

In response to Question 22 (Table 4.24), youth were asked whether their household supported other people or persons who were not part of their household, 30.2% said “yes”, family members made up 75% of the persons supported, friends accounted for 23.9% and neighbours 1.9%. As to where these person/persons lived, 41% lived in the same community, 30.9% lived in another province and 23.4% lived elsewhere in the same province. Contact with the supported person/persons was mainly reported to be monthly and at holiday time.

With regards to how often the person who was being supported was seen and for what purpose, Mitchell’s Plain cited the person visited them daily (22.5%) and monthly (39.0%) because of the close proximity to where they live. The purpose stated was for vacation for a period, (35.2%), visit (21.1%) and to get either food or money (22.6%). 10.3% Of the respondents indicated that these individuals came to fetch a grant. Khayelitsha recorded the highest response rate of 70% being for holiday purposes but indicated that 5.1% came for grants and a further 4% came for hospital visits from elsewhere.

Beaufort West demonstrated the highest percentage of responses, that of 42.2% of supporting persons not in their household. Surveys indicate that this is the area with the highest unemployment and the highest dependency on social grants in the Western Cape which led to it being classified as a rural node in 2001 (DSD Population Survey, 2002). Beaufort West respondents further demonstrated that the persons their household supported

lived in the same area as they did (76%). While Beaufort West respondents, were the only ones to report that they gave no assistance to neighbours. The support to family (53.4%) and friends (45.8%) demonstrated the closest margin compared to the other five areas, where the gap between families being supported was much larger than is presented in Beaufort West.

85.7% Of Khayelitsha youth responded to supporting others not in their household and the type of support cited was financial assistance 60.1% and the contribution of the combination of food and money, was a further 25.8%. Their family members' residence whom their household supported reflected a lower number in the same area (19.3%) to the 53.0% support given to family members who live in another province, as with Khayelitsha, Gugulethu responded with 28.3% being in the same area as the benefactor household, whilst 41.8% was in another province. Manenberg (74.1%), Oudtshoorn (64.7%) and Mitchell's Plain (64.7%) mirrors the Beaufort West scenario with support going to family members and friends living mainly in the same area with less than 3.5% living outside the province.

In pursuing the youth engagement processes one is able, through various community activities, to determine how youth access social capital. In exploring why youth do not participate in various community activities, out of the 9932 persons who participated in this research, only 1959 (19.7%) said yes. This includes Table 4.18 voting in elections. The majority were not members or did not participate in the range of activities or associations presented. The remaining 80.3% (7973) did not respond due to non-participation. Although in questions raised about participation in community actions only 3 activities' ratings raised above 10%, that being community meeting attendance (15.9%), voted in elections (14.3%) and protest meeting (12.7%). The seven other activities only rated between 4.1% and 9.1% for active participation.

When the researcher delved into the reason for the low level of participation in the above activities, the following responses were offered in Question 25: 1959 (19.7%) young person's responded with reasons. The highest frequency of responses for non-participation was in the category, not interested 55.6%. Mitchell's Plain represented 27.6% of the responses, followed by Khayelitsha (17.3%) and the rest of the areas were between 3.6% and 0.7%. 24.3% Indicated that they did not know of the existence of such organisations or clubs in their areas. Affordability in terms of membership cost and travel cost yielded a rate 8.9% as the reason for non-participation.

The barriers to participation in Manenberg (29.8%) and Khayelitsha (27.8%) were not having the available organisations. The other areas rated this element, as not having the available organisations between 18.1% and 24.0%. With regard to membership and travel costs, many young people did not belong to or go to associations, organisations and clubs. 12.0% Of Khayelitsha respondents reported that money, travel and membership fees were the problem. The other areas rated the lack of money to attend organisations between 5.7% and 11%. The “not interested” category yielded the following: Oudtshoorn (60.9%), Mitchell's Plain (60.3%), Khayelitsha (51.8%), Manenberg (50.6%), Gugulethu (49.6%) and Beaufort West (18.1%). It was very concerning that the lack of interest was so high. This indicated that some of the youth did not understand the value that could be added to their lives by belonging to or participating in organisations. In an attempt to ascertain how young people get their information from resources other than significant people in their lives to inform their decision with regard to their future plans, the researcher tested the following elements, for example, internet, media and career centres.

Table 4.23: What is the main source you use to get information or guidance?

	Khayelitsha n = 4449	Mitchell's Plain n = 3302	Manenberg n = 503	Gugulethu n = 918	Beaufort West n = 320	Oudtshoorn n = 440
Career centre	1075 (24.2)	854 (25.9)	131 (26.0)	253 (27.6)	70 (21.9)	86 (19.5)
Media (newspapers/ television)	2661 (59.8)	1503 (45.5)	197 (39.2)	462 (50.3)	205 (64.1)	262 (59.5)
Internet	191 (4.3)	492 (14.9)	76 (15.1)	90 (9.8)	29 (9.1)	30 (6.8)
Local businesses	80 (1.8)	115 (3.5)	16 (3.2)	15 (1.6)	10 (3.1)	16 (3.6)
Don't make use of any resource	351 (7.9)	265 (8.0)	44 (8.7)	116 (12.6)	7 (2.2)	27 (6.1)
Other	144 (3.2)	174 (5.3)	44 (8.7)	30 (3.3)	4 (1.3)	20 (4.5)

Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

In respect of career centres, 19.5% to 27.6% was the range of responses for the use of this method for all six areas. The second method was the use of all media sources. Beaufort West (64.1%) indicated the highest use of this method. Khayelitsha, Oudtshoorn and Gugulethu all rated their responses in the 50 – 60 % range for the media sources.

As seen on Table 4.44, Mitchell's Plain (45.5%) and Manenberg (39.3%) used the media option to a lesser extent. The use of internet for information, Manenberg (15.1%) rated this option higher than the other areas: Mitchell's Plain (14.9%), Gugulethu (9.8%), Beaufort

West (9.1%) and Oudtshoorn (6.8%). Khayelitsha (4.3%) was the lowest user. As for getting information from local businesses, this method yielded a 1.5% to 3.6% rating.

4.5.1 ANALYSIS OF THEMATIC RESEARCH SUB-QUESTION THREE

In response to research sub-question 3: What processes assist youth to access and develop the stock of social capital?, the following was evidenced.

Social capital formation is built on networks and institutions in the communities in which people live as described in the Communitarian, Network and Institutional Views. More importantly it is the process of engagement with these networks and institutions that provides one with the stock of social capital; the process, if designed in a youth friendly manner, would lead to access.

Access to and development of social capital will be evidenced in the measurement of institutional efficiency, membership and participation, trust and reciprocity and social cohesion.

We have seen earlier in response to the question on the location of school attendance that 35% of the urban areas respondents (4349) attended school outside of the immediate areas in which they live.

The highest number of respondents was in the urban areas of Gugulethu (70%) and Manenberg (43.8%) attending schools outside of their immediate areas, Khayelitsha (25.7%) and Mitchell's Plain (25.6%) to a lesser degree responded in a similar vein. The two rural areas indicated a minimal attendance of schools outside their immediate areas, Beaufort West (3%) and Oudtshoorn (1.7%). The result of the high level of out of community school attendance had as a consequence, that the issues and experiences of these respondents attributed to their school, could not automatically be transferred to the schools in their community as it is not the same area particularly as their areas evidenced the existence of low levels of social capital. When the respondents of particularly Gugulethu and Manenberg were asked to rate their relationship with educators and the education department it was relatively positive. This rating was quite high but could not be attributed to the education facilities in their areas. Despite this fact these respondents experienced higher levels of bridging social capital, through exposure to shared experiences with learners and educators in other communities. This question created contrasts within the Institutional perspective for poor communities.

Finding a job has always been difficult but in the economic situation that prevails in the province and the country, there is also as earlier indicated, a high level of unemployment, leading to a low take up of first time job seekers. Of the 9932 respondents 5000 (50.3%) were attending schools or an education institution. Only 13.01 % were employed resulting in almost 37% being unemployed. In looking at whether bonding social capital networks assisted these 13.01% to get their jobs, 27.7% said they had a family member who did or was doing the job they were doing. Of that number 81.4% said that this in fact helped them obtain employment. This further evidenced familial bonding social capital stock. The fact that 37% of the sample were unemployed despite having strong familial and agapéian bonding social capital stock suggests that closely bonded youth would require their family and friends to have sufficiently high level networks and connectivity which only then could lead to opportunities to facilitate youth to get employment. This points to networks which are not influential enough. In these communities there are very few people in management because of the plight of these poor communities where poverty, unemployment and inequality exist. In some instances if a plough back strategy with role models is used this influence could be beneficial in assisting the youth, the opportunities could become more viable and lead to access of opportunities. Some youth merely need help with their CVs and information of where to look for employment. They become one out of thousands who do not even get an interview opportunity. The Western Cape Government reported that youth, through the interaction with them demonstrated that they have limited access to information to prepare a CV or business plan to start their own small business. (PGWC: The Gender, Youth, Disability and Children's Budget Statement, 2010/2011)

When the respondents were asked how often they saw their trusted family member and friend, their responses yielded the following ratings in the category "everyday" 69.3% for family members and 71.6% for friends. Oudtshoorn (77.2%) recorded the highest daily contact with their trusted friend and Beaufort West (62.3%) the lowest. This overall stock of high familial and agapéian bonding social capital is evidenced in these 2 responses. In the area disaggregation Khayelitsha (65.2%) represented moderate stock whilst the rest of the areas represented high stock levels of familial bonding social capital. With regard to the daily contact with their trusted friend, Beaufort West (62.3%) was the only area with moderate stock of agapéian bonding social capital whilst the other areas had high stock levels. These two questions demonstrated the importance of this type of network (relationships) in the youths' lives giving an indication of a measurable stock of bonding social capital.

Out of the 28.7% of respondents who said their families supported people outside of their household, money and food was the focal reason for the support given to family (72.5%) and friends (23.9%). The majority of the supported persons, 41%, lived in the same area, with 30.9% living in other provinces. Contact with these person(s) was mainly during the holidays (28%) and once a month (30.7%). This again demonstrated high levels of familial bonding social capital within the Communitarian perspective.

The findings of this sub-question dealing with access, locates itself in both the Communitarian and Networks Views. It recognises Harpham's (2004) structural social capital which is evidenced in the participation in associations however limited and cognitive social capital which is shown more in terms of familial and agapéian bonding social capital based on access through a sense of belonging, trust and reciprocity. This confirms that resource rich adults remain a main source of social capital for the youth. These relationships with adults provide benefits to the youth, in terms of their needs; physical, financial, information and knowledge based on experience and advice. These relationships are mainly with the trusted parent, family member, friends, neighbours or some instances, educators. Youth would prefer to hangout or go to malls or go to places where there is trendy music with their friends. Their degree of disinterest could be as a result of ill-targeted and often misguided attempts to build social capital for the youth by community organisations (Saguaro Group, 2001; Jarett et al, 2005). Billett (2011) refers to this as the limited conceptualisation of what youth behaviour or consumption patterns consist of.

In terms of non-participation in community activities, the category "not interested" ranged from 46.8% to 63.6%. This evidenced a low level stock of social capital because of the degree of disinterest.

The sources of social capital for youth in general can be found by examining families, education institutions, friends, peer groups, neighbourhoods, communities, political and civic activities (Morrow, 2000; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004; Whiting & Harper, 2003; Holland, 2008). For youth from disadvantaged backgrounds, survival and coping mechanisms add another dimension. The constraints of poverty is evidenced by under developed resources, restricted movement due to safety concerns, financial constraints which requires one to add aspects of the geographical area (urban and rural), space (leisure and sport) and community (negative sub cultures). The findings of this research on youth participation, further confirms the above as demonstrated in other studies (Raffo & Reeves, 2000; Bullen & Kenway, 2005; Jarrett et al, 2005; Enfield & Nathaniel, 2013; Kahne & Bailey, 2011; McQuire, 2012; Billett, 2011).

In order to build social capital assets, access is a pre-requisite. The researcher while planning and implementing the discussion groups, experienced difficulty in procuring appropriate facilities in these communities.

Jobson (2011) had recognised that building youth social capital is an intricate and complex process. Proximity is required for the appropriate programmes, which could involve good adult role models and leadership development programmes responding to youth circumstances.

Youth need to realise that a willingness to take action on behalf of others and for the good of the entire community gives opportunities for connections with non-family adults who become resources of social capital as well as potential role models. The Saguaro Group (2001) suggests that a strong indicator of youth networks is membership and participation particularly if parents have a history of involvement in civic activities. The family and household environment should be an incubator for norms, values, skills and role modelling which appears lacking in this survey (Jarrett et al, 2000; Putnam, 2000; Field, 2003).

The correlation of the decrease in youth social capital in terms of the Communitarian and Network perspectives appear to be a causal factor leading to exclusion and youth depression, youth crime and related addictions. This decrease leads to dysfunctional relationships between individual youth, their family and the community. This decrease in social connectedness extends further to the greater community between youth and the community leaders, civic, non-governmental and governmental institutions.

Social capital increases when there is a belief that participation is reinforced as a result of the existence of rules of engagement which are youth friendly, clear and fairly implemented (Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2001).

Media as a source of information on guidance was rated the highest in Beaufort West (64.1%) and the lowest in Manenberg (39.3%) but remained the most frequently used. So while this constituted moderate linking social capital, the type of information using youth appropriate language becomes a significant element to improve the quality of information youth will need to become better informed. There are opportunities for alternative modern methods accessible to the youth which will be discussed in thematic research sub-questions five and six. It is incumbent on government in terms of the Institutional perspective to ensure access to information of the targeted beneficiaries, in this instance the youths' opportunities cannot be realised into linking social capital if most of the youth have no knowledge of programmes that will be beneficial to them. Due to high cost of advertising government

departments tend to be reactionary instead of being proactive. Government's communication strategy would be well served to ensure a youth focus quarterly newspaper insert or its own newspaper, in addition to using cellphone and internet communication (PGWC: The Gender, Youth, Disability and Children's Budget Statement, 2010/2011).

Various authors speak of youth platforms which create access. The Better Together report (Saguaro Group, 2000) says that poor youth in America prefer "virtual" friends on the Internet who offer the same benefits as face to face encounters. In terms of the youths' future plans, they indicated using external sources for gathering information, youth in poor communities have a lower asset base of bridging and linking social capital so their well-resourced adult informant for future plans tend to be outside of the family and neighbourhood. So for optimal social capital formation external (linking/institutional) sources need to be mobilised. These findings rated media informants higher than the career centre which is an institutional source (government) to build social capital. (Billett, 2011; Enfield & Nathaniel, 2013)

In this research, the findings in relation to the use of the Internet were low as a lack of facilities in these poor communities. There is still low connectivity in informal settlements and the rural areas. Demonstrating the impact of poor infrastructure and other deficits which are barriers to providing youth with the opportunities to ensure their development and economic prosperity.

4.6 FINDINGS OF THEMATIC RESEARCH SUB-QUESTION FOUR

Research Sub-Question 4: Focused on how youth use the existing social capital stock in the areas?

Strongly bonded families despite their level of poverty, help other people in instances of need, mainly family members (72.5%) and to a lesser degree friends (23.9%) and neighbours (1.9%). Money and food was the assistance given (Figure 4.9). This was also relevant because of the high unemployment levels in these areas. Beaufort West (42.2%) and Manenberg (36%) was giving more support to family outside of their immediate household, than the other areas; Khayelitsha (27.9%), Gugulethu (26.1%), Oudtshoorn (21.8%) and Mitchells Plain (18.6%).

Table 4.24: Household Support (Area comparison)

		Nodal areas			Non-nodal areas		
Question items		Khayelitsha N = 4449	Mitchell's Plain N = 3302	Beaufort West N = 320	Gugulethu N = 918	Oudtshoorn N = 440	Manenberg N = 503
		N = %	N = %	N = %	N = %	N = %	N = %
Is the household supporting other people who are not part of this household?	No	3208 (72.1)	2697 (81.7)	185 (57.8)	678 (73.9)	344 (78.2)	322 (64.0)
	Yes	1241 (27.9)	605 (18.3)	135 (42.2)	240 (26.1)	96 (21.8)	181 (36.0)
Is this household supported by anyone outside of this household?	No	3788 (85.1)	3067 (92.9)	220 (68.8)	791 (86.2)	348 (79.1)	32 (85.9)
	Yes	661 (14.9)	235 (7.1)	100 (31.3)	127 (13.8)	92 (20.9)	71 (14.1)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages

Source: Survey data.

Access to social capital networks also depends on proximity and availability. This would ensure that the youth had family and friends to approach and trust for necessary help and assistance. All the areas responded seeing their “trusted family member” every day, in the 65% to 70% range, with Khayelitsha (65%) lesser respondents reported to seeing their trusted family member daily.

The same trend was seen when the youth responded to having a trusted friend, who lived close by and they would see them every day. 71.6% of the respondents saw the person every day, Beaufort West (62.3%) had a lower percentage who reported daily contact.

In Figure 4.10, the exploration goes beyond family and friends in terms of the need for food and money to test the stock of social capital using scenarios involving assistance when ill, a victim of crime or having substance abuse problems.

In scenarios if youth were ill who would they turn to first in this instance, for Khayelitsha (69.8%), Beaufort West (58.1%), Gugulethu (48.3%), the clinic was the first call with an average rating of 43.8%. Mitchell's Plain (43.3%), Manenberg (26.4%), Oudtshoorn (28.9%) showed a higher preference for going to a doctor with an average of 28.6%. Manenberg (27.6%) actually went to family first when feeling sick. This demonstrated the least amount of linking social capital as the 5 other areas either used the services of the clinic or the doctor averaging low to a moderate stock of linking social capital.

In the scenario of being a victim of crime and who they would go to first for assistance. The youth surveyed responded as follows: all the areas indicated going to the police, Beaufort West (86.3%), Oudtshoorn (85.5%) and Khayelitsha (82.1%) rated their responses all in the 80% decile, while the remaining areas Gugulethu (64.1%), Mitchell's Plain (60.3%) and Manenberg (49%) rated their responses between 49% and 65%.

The final situation sketched involved assistance with substance abuse. A social worker was the first port of call for Beaufort West (67.5%), Khayelitsha (55.7%) and Oudtshoorn (52.7%). The rest of the areas also approached a social worker but to a lesser degree between 25% and 29% with the family rating a close second for getting assistance with substance abuse.

In examining patterns of usage, youth had been asked how they used the existing social capital stock in their areas. Respondents were asked whether they were members or participated in associations, organisations or clubs. Religious affiliations scored the highest (59.3%) response of the ten different types of membership or participatory activities. Beaufort West (78.8%) rated religious affiliation most frequently. The 55% to 62% represented the following areas: Khayelitsha (61.7%), Oudtshoorn (59.3%), Gugulethu (58.3%) and Mitchell's Plain (56.1%). Manenberg youth indicated the lowest (40%) affiliation to a religious group.

With young women (61.9%) being more involved in religious activities than young men (54.1%).

Participation in sports clubs realised (34.4%) as the next highest frequency of participation. Within that 34.4%, Gugulethu (43.1%) and Beaufort West (40.3%) both came in with higher frequencies compared to Oudtshoorn (33.9%), Manenberg (32.4%), Mitchell's Plain (29.4%) and Khayelitsha (28.5%).

The next activity with highest frequencies of participation was groups concerned with local matters, for example, schools, sport fields and libraries. 26.3% Of the respondents were involved. Participation rates for the following areas were as follows: Beaufort West (40.9%), Gugulethu (30.6%) and Khayelitsha (29.5%). A lesser degree of involvement was indicated by Manenberg (22.9%), Oudtshoorn (18.2%) and Mitchell's Plain (15.8%).

In terms of participation in recreational social clubs the following was evidenced, 22.3% participation rates indicated by Gugulethu (29.6%), Beaufort West (28.1%), Oudtshoorn

(25.7%) and Khayelitsha (22.4%) youth. Manenberg (14.3%) and Mitchell's Plain (12.9%) indicated a lesser degree of participation.

Groups which demonstrated doing things for the community resulted in 18.6% of the respondents saying yes. Gugulethu (27.2%) yielded the highest responses, followed by Manenberg (21.7%), Khayelitsha (19.9%) and Beaufort West (17.5%). Mitchell's Plain (14.3%) and Oudtshoorn (11.1%) reflected a lesser involvement in these types of groups.

Local self-help groups, which included burial societies, stokvels yielded a 12.9% positive response. Khayelitsha (20.9%) and Gugulethu (19.7%) had the highest frequency whilst Beaufort West (11.6%), Mitchell's Plain (9.6%), Manenberg (9.3%) and Oudtshoorn (6.4%) all responded with a far lesser degree of participation.

Political involvement in terms of membership drew an overall number of 14.7% positive responses. Beaufort West reflected the highest frequency of positive responses within this number 30.3%, Khayelitsha (20.0%), Gugulethu (14.4%) and Oudtshoorn (13.4%) drew moderate responses. While Manenberg (6.8%) and Mitchell's Plain (3.7%) drew very low responses to political membership.

Neighbourhood watches and street committee participation only scored 6.5% of the total respondents sampled. This indicated a very low level of participation. Within this number the highest response was from Gugulethu (8.8%) and the lowest was from Oudtshoorn (4.1%). The remaining areas responded as follows: Beaufort West (7.5%), Khayelitsha (6.8%), Manenberg (6.8%) and Mitchell's Plain (5.4%).

Table 4.25: Membership/Participation

		Khayelitsha n = 4449	Mitchell's Plain n = 3302	Manenberg n = 503	Gugulethu n = 918	Beaufort West n = 320	Oudtshoorn n = 440
Religious group	No	1702 (38.3)	1448 (43.9)	302 (60.0)	383 (41.7)	68 (21.3)	179 (40.7)
	Yes	2747 (61.7)	1854 (56.1)	201 (40.0)	535 (58.3)	252 (78.8)	261 (59.3)
Trade union	No	4268 (95.9)	3191 (96.6)	486 (96.6)	868 (94.6)	306 (95.6)	412 (93.6)
	Yes	181 (4.1)	111 (3.4)	17 (3.4)	50 (5.4)	14 (4.4)	28 (6.4)
Group that does things for community	No	3564 (80.1)	2830 (85.7)	394 (78.3)	668 (72.8)	264 (82.5)	391 (88.9)
	Yes	885 (19.9)	472 (14.3)	109 (21.7)	250 (27.2)	56 (17.5)	49 (11.1)
Local self-help association	No	3521 (79.1)	2985 (90.4)	456 (90.7)	737 (80.3)	283 (88.4)	412 (93.6)

		Khayelitsha n = 4449	Mitchell's Plain n = 3302	Manenberg n = 503	Gugulethu n = 918	Beaufort West n = 320	Oudtshoorn n = 440
	Yes	928 (20.9)	317 (9.6)	47 (9.3)	181 (19.7)	37 (11.6)	28 (6.4)
Neighbourhood watch or street committee	No	4148 (93.2)	3124 (94.6)	469 (93.2)	837 (91.2)	296 (92.5)	422 (95.9)
	Yes	301 (6.8)	178 (5.4)	34 (6.8)	81 (8.8)	24 (7.5)	18 (4.1)
Local matters group such as schools, sports, etc.	No	3135 (70.5)	2780 (84.2)	388 (77.1)	637 (69.4)	189 (59.1)	360 (81.8)
	Yes	1314 (29.5)	522 (15.8)	115 (22.9)	281 (30.6)	131 (40.9)	80 (18.2)
Sports club or organization	No	3179 (71.5)	2331 (70.6)	340 (67.6)	522 (56.9)	191 (59.7)	295 (67.0)
	Yes	1270 (28.5)	971 (29.4)	163 (32.4)	396 (43.1)	129 (40.3)	145 (33.0)
NGO or CBO programmes	No	4288 (96.4)	3100 (93.9)	472 (93.8)	873 (95.1)	301 (94.1)	422 (95.9)
	Yes	161 (3.6)	202 (6.1)	31 (6.2)	45 (4.9)	19 (5.9)	18 (4.1)
Recreational social club	No	3407 (76.6)	2877 (87.1)	431 (85.7)	646 (70.4)	230 (71.9)	327 (74.3)
	Yes	1042 (23.4)	425 (12.9)	72 (14.3)	272 (29.6)	90 (28.1)	113 (25.7)
A political party	No	3560 (80.0)	3179 (96.3)	469 (93.2)	786 (85.6)	223 (69.7)	381 (86.6)
	Yes	889 (20.0)	123 (3.7)	34 (6.8)	132 (14.4)	97 (30.3)	59 (13.4)

Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages. *Source:* Survey data

With regard to participation in non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community based organisations (CBOs) only 4.7% of the respondents participated. The highest frequency within this low response was Manenberg (6.2%) and Mitchell's Plain (6.1%) both reflecting a rating in the 6% range and Beaufort West 5.9%. The lower percentage of responses was from Gugulethu (4.9%), Oudtshoorn (4.1%) and Khayelitsha (3.6%).

When the respondents reflected on trade union membership it was understandable that the four percent low response was against the backdrop that only 13.1% of the respondents worked as indicated in Question 14. Of that number (1298) only 718 worked in the formal sector (Table 4.12).

The youth were asked if they had ever participated in community collective action as concerned citizens. The findings yielded a high number of non-participation: community meetings (70.3%), demonstrations, protest marches (87.3%), signed petitions (91.5%), boycotts (86%), strikes (92.4%) and occupied buildings (96.3%).

The researcher explored whether there were barriers that prevented youth having access to social capital networks. A varied range of associations, organisation and clubs, including religious, cultural, sport to political organisations to assess participation and affiliation rates was examined. Except for religious affiliation low levels of participation was noted.

Participants in this research were asked if there were any barriers to participation. 55.2% of the respondents said they were not interested, of the remaining 44.8%, 29% cited not knowing of or having such associations, organisations or clubs in their areas.

In well-resourced communities these networks are usually well established and known to everyone. There are also parental and familial influences providing information and encouragement to participate in community activities. Particularly in intergenerational activities, older community members very often start these activities which are not necessarily government driven. Parents, families, community leaders, community representatives and the youth themselves usually initiate these activities in order to reduce the influence of negative and harmful activities.

A high level of bridging and linking social capital would usually result in the presence of these activities. The high level of “not interested” does not necessarily mean apathy on the part of the youth, it could genuinely be ascribed to a lack of facilities, lack of communication, unsafe communities and lastly, financial resources to participate such as membership fees and transport cost. Barriers were only raised by less than 10% of the respondents.

When youth were asked about sources of information about their future plans, the following was evidenced: parents (52.5%), media (52.1%), career centres (23.5%), relatives (23.1%) and friends (17.0%). The findings are a combination of tables 4.22 and 4.23.

The researcher will now analyse the findings.

4.6.1 ANALYSIS OF THEMATIC RESEARCH SUB-QUESTION FOUR

In responding to research sub-question 4 how youth used the existing social capital stock in their area. In Question 19.1 when youth or their families needed food or financial assistance moderate levels of stock of familial bonding social capital was used. The reason for the moderate stock levels is very often due to high unemployment in these areas. There is already a high level of food insecurity and a greater dependence on social grants. In earlier

demographic questions almost 50% of the youth lived in single parent households and also with grandparents.

Putnam (2000) and Coleman (1988) commented that many studies conducted on social capital focused on poor communities. A common denominator in these communities mainly in the United States of America was the presence of single parent families, the majority headed by women, whether mothers or grandmothers. They further reflected on the impact this has on social capital stock with children and youth in the execution of education achievements. As there was a greater need for women to enter the labour market to support their families this resulted in less opportunities for youth to assess social capital resources. The reason provided was because of working mothers' busy schedules, there was less time for family interactions as well as limited availability to access other social institutions within the educational environment, leisure and other communitarian opportunities. (Edwards, 2004; Bullen & Kenway, 2005; Billett, 2011)

Incomes declared were from old age pensions or child support grants in this survey. Youth know that there is a good stock of familial bonding social capital but there are not always matched resources to demonstrate the "value" of the stock if the need is financial assistance or food. In middle income or wealthier families, a youth could approach a parent for money to study or even start a business. Money in poor communities constitutes money mainly for food, transport or to pay debts. In most instances borrowing is not an opportunity to leverage out of poverty but for basic needs. If youth or their families were sick, victims of crime or had substance abuse problems, moderate to high linking social capital was used in Khayelitsha, Gugulethu, Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn through the use of clinics, doctors, police and social workers.

The literature describes social capital as a valuable asset that can be used as a resource (OCED, 2001; Field, 2003). In the Network view, this resource facilitates co-operation and relationships within and among groups which are networks with shared norms, values and understanding.

In poor households and communities youth draw on Communitarian sources of social capital where there are high levels of mutual trust and reciprocity, connections among families and various intergenerational relationships in the communities (Saguaro Group, 2001). These findings demonstrate families before all other, "amoral familiarism" (Hopkins, 2002), particularly in Manenberg where there is high levels of integration, consisting of intra

community ties, embeddedness and low levels of linkages with the extra-community ties (Woolcock, 1998).

In the instance of illness of the youth or their families, the higher frequency of responses was for linking social capital by using clinics and doctors, Khayelitsha (clinic 69.8%, doctor 17.1%), Beaufort West (clinic 58.1%, doctor 28.1%), Gugulethu (clinic 48.3%, doctor 24.1%) and Oudtshoorn (clinic 28.9%, doctor 46.8%).

Khayelitsha demonstrated a high level of linking social capital stock while the three other areas demonstrated a moderate level of linking social capital. Manenberg and Mitchell's Plain demonstrated a preference for familial bonding and linking social capital, using parents, family (49.2% and 34.6%) and doctors (26.3% and 43.3%).

In further illustrating the stock of linking social capital Beaufort West (86.3%), Oudtshoorn (85.5%) and Khayelitsha (82.1%) responded if they were a victim of crime, they would first go to the police demonstrating a high level of linking social capital stock. On the other hand Gugulethu (64.1%), Mitchell's Plain (60.3%) and Manenberg (49.0%) evidenced moderate linking social capital.

When youth needed assistance with substance abuse, the first person they approached was a social worker. Beaufort West (67.5%) responded with a high level of linking social capital stock, while Khayelitsha (55.7%) and Oudtshoorn (52.7%) displayed moderate linking social capital. Gugulethu (29.0%), Mitchell's Plain (26.2%) and Manenberg (25.8%) in response to a substance abuse need, demonstrated a low stock of linking social capital.

As earlier stated, linking social capital is a vertical form of social capital because it links youth and adults. These adults are in a formal environment representing a certain level of power, influence and access to resources. Through these interactions youth are enabled and empowered to leverage a far wider range of resources that are assets of extra community ties or at a macro level, ties at an institutional level (Woolcock, 1998; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000; OCED, 2001; World Bank, 2000; Putnam, 2000; Stone & Hughes, 2002; Field, 2003; Dahal & Adhikari, 2008).

The intention of this type of social capital is as a resource to facilitate positive outcomes; it keeps bad things from happening to good youth, namely reducing teenage pregnancy, youth crime, school drop-outs and substance abuse (Coleman, 1990; Fukuyama, 1999; Putnam, 2000; Enfield, 2003; Holland, 2008; Billett, 2011; Pludderman & Parry, 2012; Burton, 2012).

The evidence from the findings above demonstrated varying levels of linking social capital depending on the scenario ranging from low stock to high stock with the different forms of assistance.

Community development as a source of existing linking social capital for the youth requires an optimal government approach providing education, welfare assistance, health care, skills training and other social services to bring youth from disadvantaged households to a better quality of life.

When resources are not demand led, youth use communitarian sources as they perceive the public sector as having failed them. This often leads to community protests. This was not the same for all areas. Youth in Beaufort West, Khayelitsha and Oudtshoorn demonstrated better linkages.

In Mitchell's Plain and Manenberg particularly if the youth were ill they used familial bonding social capital (34.6%) and (49.2%) respectively, evidenced by first going to their parents and family. They also did not go to the clinic but preferred a doctor. Manenberg evidenced low stock of linking social capital and moderate stock of familial bonding social capital in this regard. Having a significant trusting familial relationship demonstrated a high stock of familial bonding social capital used by the youth in all six areas ranging from 73.0% to 89.5%

With regard to having a trusted friend, the stock of agapéian bonding social capital was high in the following areas: Mitchell's Plain (77.1%), Manenberg (70.6%) and Beaufort West (76.3%). Moderate stock of bonding social capital was used in relation to having a trusted friend the youth could confide in and approach for assistance, Oudtshoorn (64.8%) Gugulethu (58.0%) and Khayelitsha (57.0%). Three areas had high stock of both familial and agapéian bonding social capital on both a familial and friendship level, Mitchell's Plain, Manenberg and Beaufort West. While Khayelitsha, Gugulethu and Oudtshoorn had high stock of familial bonding social capital in terms of a special family member, and moderate stock in respect of a special trusting friend. The aggregate of the two did not reduce the stock in the above-mentioned areas to moderate stock of bonding social capital.

When looking at the network worth base of participation of the youth in these six areas, youth responded with a 58.9% for religious participation. The strongest religious participation was in Beaufort West (78.8%) and the lowest participation in Manenberg (40%). The other four areas recorded frequencies between 56.1% and 61.7%.

Attendance and participation depends on the extent to which the demand responsiveness approach is embedded in community based projects for youth.

Bullen and Onyx (2007) suggest that findings in their research with youth yielded higher levels of social capital based on membership and participation in rural areas, citing that urban samples had lower levels of trust and safety leading to lower levels of community participation. Despite religious affiliation having the highest sources of affiliation in Beaufort West in rural areas and moderate levels for the other areas, these were overall low levels on all other activities in this study evidenced in both rural and urban areas.

Besides Beaufort West, Khayelitsha, an urban area, also had higher rates of affiliation than Oudtshoorn, the other rural area. The researcher will discuss the area distinction in terms of nodal and non-nodal areas later in this chapter. However, the current research findings could not confirm that rural areas had higher levels of membership and participation as in Bullen and Onyx (2007) study.

The findings of this research support the Morrow et al (2005) study. The findings on religious membership and sport affiliation were higher in the current research, Morrow et al found that the minority of South African youth engaged regularly in civic activities. Yet activities particularly within the church environment raised 20% positive responses and participation in sports drew a 14% response. Other activities presented, such as clubs, societies and community associations yield a 10% and less pattern of engagement. The latter was also the pattern in this research.

Grootaert and van Bastelaer (2001) comment that social capital can accumulate as a result of its use. Social capital has public good characteristics involving at least 2 persons. It is an asset that produces mutually beneficial outputs. Social capital is therefore more than just social organisation or social values but social interactions that culminate in development and collective action. The low membership and participation as recorded in this study starts to evidence potential low stocks of social capital as a result of limited interaction with networks a key contributor to social capital.

In further exploring the use of existing social capital stock through participation in networks and institutions generally it was found that other than the networks of religious affiliation, which had high stock as a result participation in Beaufort West (78.8%), while the rest of the areas, affiliation rates translated into a moderate stock of agapéian bonding social capital of 40% to 61.7% in religious institutions. Usually it is said that the church community does have

a value added network worth almost described as an extended family. This could be further explored beyond this descriptive study to see how this network is operationalised by the youth: are these networks able to guide and advise about future study, needs and career opportunities that could lead to employment and general youth development.

Ten options were provided including religious groups as already discussed. The researcher took the six most frequently responded to associations, organisations or clubs: Religious groups (59%), Sport Clubs (34.4%), Local Matters group (26.3%), Recreational/social clubs (22.3%), Community Volunteer groups (18.6%) and Local Self Help Associations (12.9%). Affiliation and participation was low, across the rest of the three elements, rating between 6.5% and 4.5%. Gugulethu also demonstrated moderate bridging social capital use through affiliation to sports clubs (43.1%). The proxy indicator of norms for collective action is in this instance found in the participation and affiliation to religious groupings.

Political participation and affiliation was also low, ranging from Beaufort West (30.3%), Khayelitsha (20.0%), Gugulethu (14.4%) and Oudtshoorn (13.4%). Manenberg (6.8%) and Mitchell's Plain (3.7%) displayed very low participation. This pointed to an actual high level of disinterest on the part of the youth in participative networks and community organisations.

Jobson (2011) says that in South Africa youth affiliation and participation in politics is largely party based. During the process of this survey despite low affiliation rates, Beaufort West and Khayelitsha demonstrated the highest affiliation between 20% and 30%. The Jobson survey identified more youth affiliated to the ANC Youth League. Since 2014 there has been a growing emergence of youth political activities at South African universities supported by associations linked to the African National Congress, Economic Freedom Fighter and the Democratic Alliance. This has led to successful campaigns such as the RhodesMustFall (University of Cape Town) and Open Stellenbosch Movement (University of Stellenbosch) (News24, 2/4/2015, 22/9/2015).

The most successful, demonstrating the co-operation, collaboration and action across the country of all student structures regardless of the political parties has been the # Fees Must Fall campaign. Within 10 days thousands of students across the country sprang into action mobilised using social media, organised demonstrations, mass occupations, marches to parliaments and the Union Buildings to voice their demands. The struggle of exorbitant fees was a common purpose issue affecting all stakeholders, students, parents, academics, politicians, university leadership, government (through the Higher Education Ministry and Department) and society at large.

Reminiscent of the youth struggles against apartheid in 1976, 1985, 1987, youth demonstrated their social capital which resulted in a decision announced by President Jacob Zuma on the 23rd October 2015 that, across all universities, there would be no annual increase in student fees for the 2016 academic year (Mail & Guardian, 23-29/10/2015, Pretoria News, 23/10/2015, Sowetan, 23/10/2015). Whilst not evidenced during this research survey, this campaign demonstrated all the elements required to be recognised in terms of the Synergy View.

When the researcher delved into the reason for non-participation, the following responses were offered to Question 25; 1959 (19.7%) young persons responded with reasons. The highest frequency of responses for non-participation was in the category, not interested 55.6%. Mitchell's Plain represented 27.6% of the responses, followed by Khayelitsha (17.3%) and the rest of the areas were between 3.6% and 0.7%. 24.3% indicated that they did not know of the existence of such organisations or clubs in their areas. Affordability in terms of membership cost and travel cost yielded 8.9% as the reason for non-participation.

In further pursuing how the youth use the existing stock of social capital, the results of Question 30 explored beyond participation and affiliation of associations or organisations and clubs to more concerning activities, which raise issues in a specific way either by participating, organising or attending to youth issues, work and community concerns. The levels of non-activity were very high across the ten actions, varying between 60 to 80 percent. The researcher examined the six key elements where there was higher frequency of responses: community meetings, raise an issue, participate in a protest, attend an imbizo, voted and do voluntary work. In a democracy participation is a sign of people considering their constitutional rights and placing a premium on participation in decision-making. Information has to be accessible in order for young people to exercise their rights and having their "voices" heard. Social cohesion as a proxy indicator is derived from this premise. In South Africa because of our history and violence associated with the approach to raising issues there is a negative impact. This is evidenced when issue-driven protests become violent resulting in people being hurt and properties damaged. The #FeesMustFall campaign was largely peaceful with sporadic small sectors of unacceptable behaviour driven by frustration and some youth not respecting the intent of the cause.

Community meetings raised responses to "yes, once" and "yes often" of 29.7% responses. Respondents having voted raised responses "yes, once" and "yes often" of 25.1%. Raising an issue raised responses to "yes, once" and "yes often" of 22.0%. Voluntary work raised responses to "yes, once" and "yes often" of 16.6%. Protest actions raised responses "yes,

once” and “yes often” of 12.7%. The actual community action beyond mere participation or affiliation yielded a low percentage of social capital stock between 3.7% and 29.2%.

The following three areas indicated higher responses but it remained in the overall category of low moderate to low stock of bridging social capital, for Gugulethu, Beaufort West and Khayelitsha.

The remaining areas, Mitchell’s Plain, Manenberg and Oudtshoorn reflected low to very low use of existing social capital. Mitchell’s Plain had the lowest average of participatory action 85.7%. For youth to raise their issues and also raise their image in the community they have to be visible to raise their issues in appropriate forums. In order for social capital to be built youth have to participate fully in the communal and civic activities in the society in which they live. Youth development is dependent on positive interaction. Youth have to, firstly build their own social capital - this binds them to others in networks and institutions. This bridging social capital is then the vessel or transformer for the change process called development which uses and optimises opportunities leading to linking social capital which will build a more sustainable future for themselves and a better life for the community. Social cohesion is a necessary ingredient for social capital formation contributing to youth forming part of the active citizenry. These actions would then be vehicles for change. Youth might respond provided that the platforms are youth friendly. Perhaps this should require deeper investigation. In talking to someone about their future, all the youth who responded used familial bonding social capital stock.

In response to a question of the main sources used by youth to get information or guidance with regard to their future plans, media was the main informant for the youth. Beaufort West rated this method in the 60% percent decile (64.1%) while Khayelitsha (59.8%), Oudtshoorn (59.5%) and Gugulethu were in the fifty percent decile. Mitchell’s Plain (45.5%) and Manenberg (39.2%) showed less reliance on the media but indicated a higher frequency of use of the Internet 14.9% and 15.1% respectively.

So linking social capital was definitely media driven in all the areas from a moderate stock of social capital perspective. Linking social capital stock representing the public sector, was career centres and the ratings ranged from 19.5% to 27.6% which indicated low stock of linking social capital.

The public sector career centres would do well to extend their reach by using cell phone connectivity to enable social media, twitter, google, short message services (sms) and

multimedia services (mms), to assist the youth with information requested regarding their future plans. Internet access was also not widely evident in poor communities at the time of the study.

Coleman (1988) and Falk and Kilpatrick (2000) comment that a critical feature of social capital is its particular kinds of resources available to the youth, an accumulation of knowledge, obtaining useful information with regard to assisting them with advancement of future career goals. This type of social capital goes beyond information and assistance of just getting by but essentially to get ahead (De Souza Briggs, 1997; Billett, 2012).

During this survey, media access was a key source of information; this finding is rapidly being overtaken by access to modern technology. Youth in poor communities started to have more access to cellphones, computers, school or Internet cafés demonstrating that social capital interventions should function at the level of the youth community, as different technologies require different levels of collective action (Krishna & Uphoff, 1999).

The familial bonding social capital consists of either one or both parents or relatives. In this question the areas of Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain demonstrated high familial bonding social capital. The remaining areas used familial bonding social capital that was between 56% and 60.4%, which constituted moderate familial bonding social capital stock.

In terms of this same question, the youth had indicated that they also had friends to discuss their future plans with. The researcher refers to this type of bonding social capital as *agapéian* bonding social capital. Overall 14% of the respondents said they had a close and trusting friend to discuss their future plans with. With Beaufort West (21.9%) and Manenberg (19.3%) responding with an above average percentage of *agapéian* bonding social capital stock.

In looking specifically at the stock of linking social capital in terms of youth utilisation with regard to getting information or guidance on their future plans, the public sector solutions, career centres only raised a 23.5% rating from the youth. The media was rated with the most frequent responses (53.3%), providing the youth with information from 39.2% (Manenberg) to 64.1% (Beaufort West).

The above statistics provided the researcher with insight into how the youth are influenced by television and print media, and not necessarily in their community through role models. This also bears out the perception that the youth believed that the community has a negative

attitude towards them. The second source of information for the youth was career centres. The responses ranged from 19.5% to 27.6% across the six areas. The other options of the internet and local businesses had very low levels of linking social capital stock, Internet had 15.1% as its highest frequency of responses and going to local businesses had a 3.6% rating. But currently this pattern has changed with youth evolving over the past couple of years relying on social media becoming a main source of information and connectivity. The cellphone is almost a replacement for a best friend in person.

4.7 FINDINGS OF THEMATIC RESEARCH SUB-QUESTION FIVE

The fifth research sub-question investigated the gaps and opportunities youth have. This section focused on the experiences youth had, particularly with the public sector as the basis for linking social capital. As earlier stated linking social capital in both the institutional and synergy perspectives is the heart of this thesis. It explores the public sector interventions at the time of the survey. The core of this thesis is to find out whether the impact of these programmes is creating opportunities (linking social capital) which leads to advancement and youth development. Utilisation of and participation in the public sector programmes based on the relevance of the programme, the network opportunity and the youth friendly staff demonstrating internal social capital in the government sector.

The respondents rated the option “more job advertisements in local newspapers” relatively higher than the other options as was also the case with sources for information with regard to future plans. Oudtshoorn (20.5%), Beaufort West (16.6%) and Khayelitsha (17.1%) rated this option higher than Mitchell's Plain (12.9%), Gugulethu (12.4%) and Manenberg (11.1%).

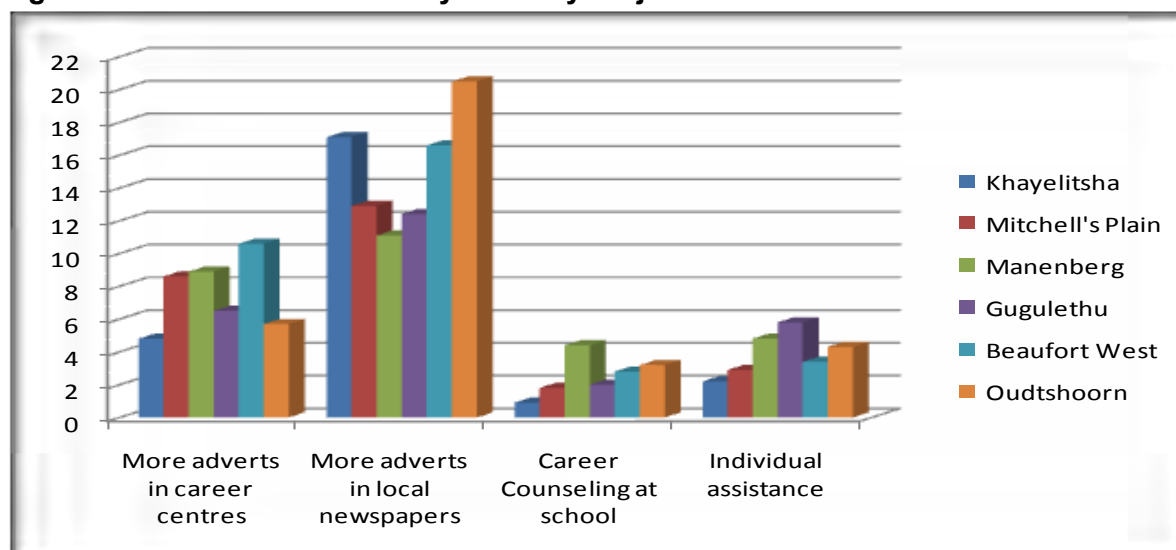
When respondents were asked what would assist them with their job search, four options were offered.

The second option chosen was more advertisements in the Career Centres at Multi-purpose centres. Beaufort West (10.9%), Manenberg (8.9%) and Mitchell's Plain (8.6%) rated this option higher than Gugulethu (6.5%), Oudtshoorn (5.7%) and Khayelitsha (4.8%).

The third option was individual assistance with their job search, it was rated as follows: Gugulethu (5.8%), Manenberg (4.8%) and Oudtshoorn (4.3%), Mitchell's Plain (2.9%) and Khayelitsha (2.2%).

The fourth option was career counselling at school, Manenberg (4.4%) rated this higher than Oudtshoorn (3.2%). The rest of the areas rated this option between .9% and 2.8%.

Figure 4.17: What would assist you with your job search?



Source: Survey data

Of the respondents who were working, 27.7% responded that they were doing the same work as a member of their family. This question was posed to test whether family networks (familial bonding social capital) had been used to secure employment. This was corroborated by 81% within that number agreeing that this was indeed the case. When tested to see if they learnt the job from a family member only 11% responded that they learnt to do their jobs this way, whilst others responded by indicating formal training, on the job training and self-training.

The next question enquired why the respondents were not looking for employment. As earlier stated in this section on employment, 36.6% of the respondents were unemployed.

Table 4.26: Reasons for not looking for a job by geographical area

Reasons	Khayelitsha (n = 3284)	Mitchells Plain (n = 2350)	Manen= berg (n = 341)	Gugulethu (n = 662)	Beaufort West (n = 210)	Oudts= hoorn (n = 275)	Total (n = 7122)
	f. (%)	f. (%)	f. (%)	f. (%)	f. (%)	f. (%)	f. (%)
Already employed	363 (11.1)	379 (16.1)	44 (12.9)	69 (10.4)	14 (6.7)	43 (15.6)	912 (12.8)
No jobs available/ discouraged by lack of jobs/too many people looking for job	234 (7.1)	126 (5.4)	22 (6.5)	63 (9.5)	27 (12.9)	30 (10.9)	502 (7.0)
Too expensive	135	32	4	13	1	2	187

to look for work	(4.1)	(1.4)	(1.2)	(2.0)	(0.5)	(0.7)	(2.6)
I cannot be bothered/I don't care	29 (0.9)	37 (1.6)	5 (1.5)	7 (1.1)	3 (1.4)	3 (1.1)	84 (1.2)
I don't have time/too busy at home	165 (5.0)	91 (3.9)	20 (5.9)	24 (3.6)	10 (4.8)	19 (6.9)	329 (4.6)
At school/studying full time	2159 (65.7)	1479 (62.9)	209 (61.3)	434 (65.6)	150 (71.4)	156 (56.7)	4587 (64.4)
Don't need the money	12 (0.4)	17 (0.7)	2 (0.6)	9 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	40 (0.6)
Don't know	58 (1.8)	60 (2.6)	7 (2.1)	13 (2.0)	2 (1.0)	6 (2.2)	146 (2.0)
Sick/disabled/grant	28 (0.9)	17 (0.7)	6 (1.8)	5 (0.8)	0 (0.0)	3 (1.1)	59 (0.8)
Pregnant/looking after child/family	40 (1.2)	55 (2.3)	12 (3.5)	10 (1.5)	2 (1.0)	5 (1.8)	124 (1.7)
Doing a course/studying part time	5 (0.2)	4 (0.2)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	12 (0.2)
No ID	14 (0.4)	8 (0.3)	3 (0.9)	3 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	3 (1.1)	31 (0.4)
Other, specify	42 (1.3)	45 (1.9)	6 (1.8)	10 (1.5)	1 (0.5)	5 (1.8)	109 (1.5)

Note: Fisher's Exact Test: $p < 0.05$. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

The number of respondents who responded to the option of a lack of jobs rated it as follows: Beaufort West (12.9%) rated this option slightly higher than the other areas which rated this option between 5.4% and 10.9%. Khayelitsha respondents (4.1%) said it was too expensive to look for employment. The other areas rated this option between 0.5% and 2% as displayed on the Table 4.26 using Fisher's Exact Test. The respondents of Oudtshoorn (6.9%) and Manenberg (5.9%) said they were too busy at home. The other areas rated this option between 3.9% and 5.0%. This survey noted that in terms of gender, 29.3% females and 26.7% males had been searching for employment.

In responding to whether persons not in the household are being supported by the family received a rating of 28.7% in the affirmative. These recipients of support in the form of food and money were family members (72.5%) and friends (23.9%) in the main. The persons being supported either lived in the same area (41%), other provinces (30.9%) or elsewhere in Western Cape Province (23.4%). The persons supported predominantly visited the

households once a month (30.7%), during holidays (28.09%) and a few times a week (14.5%).

The converse was also tested (Table 4.24). In response to whether anyone outside the household was supporting them 19.2% agreed. The needs were particularly food (14%) and money (48.1%). The person who was supporting the household was mainly family members (83.1%) and friends (13.8%). The majority of the benefactors lived in the same area (38.2%), elsewhere in Western Cape Province (36.9%) or in another province (16.8%). This question again pointed to the needs of poor households in which the youth live. These households demonstrated that there was insufficient income to support the family in the home to ensure food and financial security.

These two questions demonstrate how social capital has to exist to fill the gaps in poor families. This type of familial and agapéian bonding social capital dominates the stock which exists in poor communities.

When the respondents were asked to rate the social and leisure facilities in their areas, the following picture emerged: 39.9% of the respondents said the social and sport facilities in their areas were “average”; a collective response favouring the facilities “good” and “very good” was 23.4% and for “poor” and “very poor” was 36.7%. Mitchell’s Plain (43.9%) and Khayelitsha (40.8%) rated their facilities as “average” in the 40 to 45% range. Gugulethu (36.4%) and Manenberg (32.0%) also rated their facilities in the 30-39% range. Furthermore, Oudtshoorn (29.3%) and Beaufort West rated their facilities to be “average” in the 20 - 29% range. The biggest leisure and social facilities deficit was seen in the rural areas with Beaufort West rating the “poor” and “very poor” at 50.3 % and Oudtshoorn rating for these facilities were at 43.9%. Manenberg also rated its facilities at 44.1% on the “poor” and “very poor” side. Khayelitsha (38.1%), Mitchell’s Plain (31.6%) and Gugulethu (36.3%) respondents reflected their social and leisure facilities in the “poor” and “very poor” categories in the under 38% decile.

Table 4.27: Perception of social & leisure facilities

Perception of Social & Leisure Facilities	Khayelitsha (n = 4449)	Mitchells Plain (n = 3302)	Manenberg (n = 503)	Gugulethu (n = 918)	Beaufort West (n = 320)	Oudts=hoorn (n = 440)	Total (n = 9923)
	<i>f.</i> (%)	<i>f.</i> (%)	<i>f.</i> (%)	<i>f.</i> (%)	<i>f.</i> (%)	<i>f.</i> (%)	<i>f.</i> (%)
Unfavourable	1694 (38.1)	1044 (31.6)	222 (44.1)	333 (36.3)	161 (50.3)	193 (43.9)	3647 (36.7)
Neutral	1816 (40.8)	1450 (43.9)	161 (32.0)	334 (36.4)	75 (23.4)	129 (29.3)	3965 (39.9)
Favourable	939 (21.1)	808 (24.5)	120 (23.9)	251 (27.3)	84 (26.3)	118 (26.8)	2320 (23.4)

Note. $\chi^2 = 135.555$, $df = 10$. $p < .05$. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

When youth were requested to propose potential interventions to reduce the negative effects of (Question 28), gangs, drinking clubs, gossiping, corner boys, game shops and shopping malls they responded as follows: more jobs, youth development centres, youth programmes focusing on positive lifestyles, arrest the gangs, close the taverns and more sport centres.

When the respondents were asked what their main source of government information was, SABC TV was rated the highest in five of the six areas. Khayelitsha (84.5%) rated radio broadcast as their greatest source of government information. All the other areas rated radio as their second source with a frequency of responses between 77.8% and 47.6%. Beaufort West gave the highest rating to the third option, newspapers (67.2%). The remaining areas rated this option between 61.6% (Oudtshoorn) and 38.3% (Gugulethu). Other sources such as family members (7.1%) and friends (7.4%) as options were also provided but both of these received low ratings. Oudtshoorn rated family members (9.8%) and friends (12.5%) higher than the average and so did Mitchell's Plain, family members (11.2%) and friends (10.2%) as a source of government information.

The respondents had to answer questions about institutions, staff and services that were delivered by government or their service providers at the time of the research. The following Table 4.28 is in response to the question which specifically asks about trust in people in certain professions within the public sector, as trust is the proxy indicator for confidence and interaction with government services. Within this question, youths' trust of community leaders was also tested. The researcher dealt with this issue of understanding youths' trust of community leaders in an earlier section to separate the trust relations of community leaders from institutional and government workers. The analysis of these results could

indicate where government should intervene specifically to improve their service delivery to young people. Furthermore, this survey provided insight into whether the services delivered at the time reached the young people in the selected areas.

Table 4.28: Different Types of Trust

Area	Particularised Trust		Generalised Trust	Institutional Trust	Total
	Familial	Agapéian (Friend)	Broader Community	Public Sector	
	%	%	%	%	%
Khayelitsha	82.6	37.7			
	60.1		46.6	31.7	46.1
Mitchell's Plain	70.7	56.6			
	63.1		46.2	28.1	45.8
Manenberg	71.2	51.1			
	61.1		47.8	30.0	46.3
Gugulethu	79.9	40.8			
	60.3		54.3	28.4	47.7
Beaufort West	68.4	54.7			
	61.0		60.9	29.4	50.4
Oudtshoorn	69.3	45.6			
	57.4		57.7	31.1	48.7

Source Survey Data

In dealing with the **police**, 25.9% of the respondents trusted the police “a lot”, 34.8% trusted them “a little”, 20.4% said “not very much” and 17.4% said “not at all”.

When deepening the understanding of the trust relationship with the police in specific areas, the following information was gathered. Khayelitsha (33.3%) and Beaufort West (33.3%) recorded the same response with a higher frequency than the other areas. Oudtshoorn (27.3%) and Manenberg (20.2%) rated their “a lot” in the 20 percent range. Gugulethu (19.7%) and Mitchell's Plain (17.6%) were in the lower percentage in this category. The highest frequencies were found in the “a little” category, with Mitchell's Plain (44.0%) rating it their highest out of the global “a little” category in the 34.8% range. The other areas ranged from 27.2% to 43.0%.

The “not very much” and “not at all” categories are the concerning ones. Gugulethu rated both of these collectively at 49.1% which means that linking social capital with respect to the police is approximately 50% in this area. The rest of the areas ranked these 2 elements “not very much” and “not at all” in the 28% to 39%. Manenberg (3.4%) had the highest “no direct” experience rating.

The next category of public sector workers, **court officials**, drew the following responses. The trust “a lot” category yielded 29.5% and the trusting the “a little” category was 33.6%. The “not very much” category indicated 16.0% and the “not at all” was rated at 8.9%, with 12% having “no direct” contact.

Within the areas, Khayelitsha (40.9%) expressed a high level of trust, which increased if one adds their “a little” (27.7%). Oudtshoorn rated its “a lot” at 27.7% and its “a little” at 41.6%. Mitchell’s Plain had the smallest frequency in the “a lot” category, 14.5% but indicated 40.7% in the “a little” category. Mitchell’s Plain also indicated higher frequencies in its “not very much”, 22.0% and, “not at all” 10.4% categories, indicating low levels of trust for court officials in this area.

Manenberg indicated 23.6% for the “a lot” and 36.9% for the “a little” category. The “not very much” category yielded 18.8% and the “not at all” 9.1%, reflecting 27.9% of respondents were less trusting court officials but lower than the Mitchell’s Plain (32.4%) response rate.

Gugulethu and Beaufort West in a combination of the “a lot” and “a little”, rated these as 63.2% and 62.5% respectively. These 2 areas further rated the “not very much” and the “not at all” categories at 24.3% and 16.9% respectively. Beaufort West also had the highest incidence of “no direct experience”, 20.6%.

In respect of **social workers** and **educators**, these public sector professionals both were rated 53.7% and 53.8% in the trust “a lot” category

Gugulethu rated their trust for both social workers (70.9%) and educators (62.9%) as their highest frequencies in the “a lot” category for both professions. Mitchell’s Plain on the other hand gave both professional classes in the “a lot” category the lowest group rating, social workers (35.1%) and educators (43.0%). Mitchell’s Plain also gave the highest area rating for “not very much” for both professions at 11%. The other areas in terms of social workers in the “a lot” and “a little” category were as follows: the “a lot” of trust: Khayelitsha 63%, Manenberg 57.5%, Oudtshoorn 56.45 and Beaufort west 55.3%. The “a little” category

yielded the following: Mitchell's Plain 41.9%, Oudtshoorn 31.6%, Beaufort West 23.8%, Khayelitsha 23.7%, Manenberg 22.7% and Gugulethu 16%. In respect of the social workers, the category "not at all" for all areas was under 5%. The no direct contact ranged between 3% and 8.1%.

In the other areas in respect of educators, they were rated in the "a lot" and "a little" trust category as follows: Whilst Gugulethu rated the highest "a lot" frequency it also had the highest "not at all" trust category of 6.3%. Gugulethu however was the area which indicated 69.8% school attendance of their outside area. So this relationship of trust for educators cannot be attributed to their area of residence.

The rest of the areas displayed a total lack of trust, hence the presence of social capital was very low, under 5.5%.

The bar chart below is the rating given by youth respondents to **Health Workers**. In terms of the trust relations between the surveyed youth and health professionals the "a lot" category yielded 40.7%, whilst the "a little" and "not very much" categories reflected 34.4% and 13.9% respectively.

Table 4.29: Public Sector Workers

		Geographical area		All N = 9932
		Nodal n = 8071	Non-nodal n = 1861	
Police	No direct experience	114 (1.4)	34 (1.8)	148 (1.5)
	Not at all	1371 (17.0)	358 (19.2)	1729 (17.4)
	Not very much	1643 (20.4)	386 (20.7)	2029 (20.4)
	A little	2772 (34.3)	680 (36.5)	3452 (34.8)
	A lot	2171 (26.9)	403 (21.7)	2574 (25.9)
Court officials	No direct experience	971 (12.0)	219 (11.8)	1190 (12.0)
	Not at all	725 (9.0)	162 (8.7)	887 (8.9)
	Not very much	1303 (16.1)	290 (15.6)	1593 (16.0)
	A little	2661 (33.0)	675 (36.3)	3336 (33.6)
	A lot	2411 (29.9)	515 (27.7)	2926 (29.5)
Social workers	No direct experience	422 (5.2)	108 (5.8)	530 (5.3)
	Not at all	278 (3.4)	53 (2.8)	331 (3.3)
	Not very much	717 (8.9)	103 (5.5)	820 (8.3)
	A little	2505 (31.0)	408 (21.9)	2913 (29.3)
	A lot	4149 (51.4)	1189 (63.9)	5338 (53.7)
Health staff/workers	No direct experience	225 (2.8)	61 (3.3)	286 (2.9)
	Not at all	651 (8.1)	156 (8.4)	807 (8.1)
	Not very much	1108 (13.7)	272 (14.6)	1380 (13.9)
	A little	2765 (34.3)	649 (34.9)	3414 (34.4)
	A lot	3322 (41.2)	723 (38.9)	4045 (40.7)
Politicians	No direct experience	524 (6.5)	121 (6.5)	645 (6.5)
	Not at all	2362 (29.3)	593 (31.9)	2955 (29.8)

		Geographical area		All N = 9932
		Nodal n = 8071	Non-nodal n = 1861	
	Not very much	1786 (22.1)	426 (22.9)	2212 (22.3)
	A little	2077 (25.7)	477 (25.6)	2554 (25.7)
	A lot	1322 (16.4)	244 (13.1)	1566 (15.8)
Educators	No direct experience	42 (0.5)	9 (0.5)	51 (0.5)
	Not at all	412 (5.1)	100 (5.4)	512 (5.2)
	Not very much	824 (10.2)	167 (9.0)	991 (10.0)
	A little	2546 (31.5)	490 (26.3)	3036 (30.6)
	A lot	4247 (52.6)	1095 (58.8)	5342 (53.8)
Local municipal officials	No direct experience	733 (9.1)	134 (7.2)	867 (8.7)
	Not at all	1185 (14.7)	355 (19.1)	1540 (15.5)
	Not very much	1916 (23.7)	460 (24.7)	2376 (23.9)
	A little	2577 (31.9)	604 (32.5)	3181 (32.0)
	A lot	1660 (20.6)	308 (16.6)	1968 (19.8)
Community leaders	No direct experience	609 (7.5)	151 (8.1)	760 (7.7)
	Not at all	1432 (17.7)	412 (22.1)	1844 (18.6)
	Not very much	1935 (24.0)	437 (23.5)	2372 (23.9)
	A little	2433 (30.1)	554 (29.8)	2987 (30.1)
	A lot	1662 (20.6)	307 (16.5)	1969 (19.8)
NGO workers	No direct experience	2057 (25.5)	583 (31.3)	2640 (26.6)
	Not at all	950 (11.8)	232 (12.5)	1182 (11.9)
	Not very much	1641 (20.3)	337 (18.1)	1978 (19.9)
	A little	2138 (26.5)	463 (24.9)	2601 (26.2)
	A lot	1285 (15.9)	246 (13.2)	1531 (15.4)
Government officials	No direct experience	1115 (13.8)	229 (12.3)	1344 (13.5)
	Not at all	1059 (13.1)	283 (15.2)	1342 (13.5)
	Not very much	851 (22.9)	403 (21.7)	2254 (22.7)
	A little	2212 (27.4)	552 (29.7)	2764 (27.8)
	A lot	1834 (22.7)	394 (21.2)	2228 (22.4)

Source: Survey data

In the “a lot” of trust category percentages ranged over 2 deciles. In the forty percent decile were the following areas: Khayelitsha (47.4%), Beaufort West (45.9%) and Oudtshoorn (43.9%). In the thirty percent decile, Mitchell’s Plain (31.8%) was the lowest, while Manenberg (39.1%) and Gugulethu (36.3%) were slightly higher. The Mitchell’s Plain respondents’ trend with officials continued on a similar rating to that of social workers and educators, health workers were given high ratings for “a little” and “not very much” trust of 41.8% and 15.9% respectively. With regard to “no trust” at all, Gugulethu (11.9%) and Khayelitsha (9.7%) rated this category relatively high. The other areas rated this element between 4% and 6%.

With regard to **government workers**, both local government and government in general as indicated on the tables above, the youth in this research rated their trust in the following manner. The element of “a lot” of trust yielded the following rating for Local Government (19.8%) and Government (22.4%). “A little” was rated (32.0%) and (27.8%) respectively. This close trend was also followed with the elements of “not very much” and “not at all”

categories in respect of Local Government officials it was 23.9% and 15.5% and with government officials it was 22.7% and 13.5%. In disaggregating these ratings into the areas the following was evidenced. Khayelitsha rated the “a lot” of trust category for local government officials (28.8%) and government officials (31.6%). Mitchell’s Plain presented the lowest frequency for both local government officials (11.0%) for the element “a lot” of trust.

The remaining areas rated the “a lot” of trust for local government officials between 12% and 20%, for government officials between 17% and 25%. With regard to “not very much” trust, Oudtshoorn gave both the highest rating to local government (28.9%) and government officials (25.2%). With this element the other areas rated local government officials between 18% and 28% and with government officials between 18% and 24%. In the “no trust at all” category Gugulethu (20.7%), Beaufort West (19.1%) and Manenberg (18.5%) rated their lack of trust higher than the other 3 areas. With regard to no trust at all in government officials, Mitchell’s Plain (16.0%), Manenberg (17.3%) and Gugulethu (15.4%) gave higher ratings. The other 3 areas ratings for this lack of trust were between 11% and 12.5%.

The researcher also tested the youths’ trust of community leaders and found that there was a cautious response to the question leading to a very little trust. Community leaders are often role models for the youth because of their “selfless” commitment to serving others or taking action to improve the quality of life of fellow citizens” residing in their area. The youth rated their trust of community leaders as follows: “a lot” 19.8%, “a little” 30.1%, “not very much” 23.9% and “not at all” 18.6%. The “a little”, “not very much” and “not at all” make up 73% of the responses which demonstrates very little trust in community leaders.

The non-governmental organisations (NGO’s) sector receive funding from government to increase governments reach and to enhance accessibility. The researcher acknowledges that not all NGO’s receive funding from government but receive donor funding reducing their dependency on government and therefore these organisations do not have to support government’s service delivery agenda.

This question was posed to contrast youth trust for **NGO workers** versus government workers. Lastly, in terms of the stock of social capital this trusting relationship is also supposed to provide the youth with a range of support. With the general sense of trust, youth surveyed gave NGO workers 15.4% in the “a lot” category and 26.2% in the “a little” category, “not very much” was 19.9% and “not at all” was 11.9%. On all of the elements

related to youth trust and NGO workers, the highest frequency of 26.6% was for youth having “no direct experience” with this sector. Khayelitsha (20.9%) had the most trust and Mitchell’s Plain (9.5%) had the lowest frequency of trust in the “a lot” category. The rest of the areas ranged between 11% and 14%. In the categories “a lot” and “not very much”, Manenberg rated NGO workers in terms of trust, “a little” (35.1%) and “not very much” (15.3%), Oudtshoorn “a little” (23.9%) and “not very much” (23.2%), Beaufort West “a little” (20.9%) and “not very much” (19.4%) and Gugulethu “a little” (19.8%) and “not very much” (17.2%) in the rating of NGO workers.

Beaufort West had the highest frequency for the lack of trust in NGO’s workers being 16.9%, whilst the remaining areas were between 10% and 14%. In the high levels, “no direct experience”, Gugulethu (36.3%) demonstrated the highest frequency of “no direct experience”.

As earlier indicated in the research sub-question one, the situational analysis of youth was quite dire in exploring what youth were confronted with in these areas in the Western Cape. It therefore becomes critical if solutions are needed that politicians as the decision makers need to be rated in terms of whether youth trust them sufficiently to provide some answers and solutions to problems they experienced in their areas.

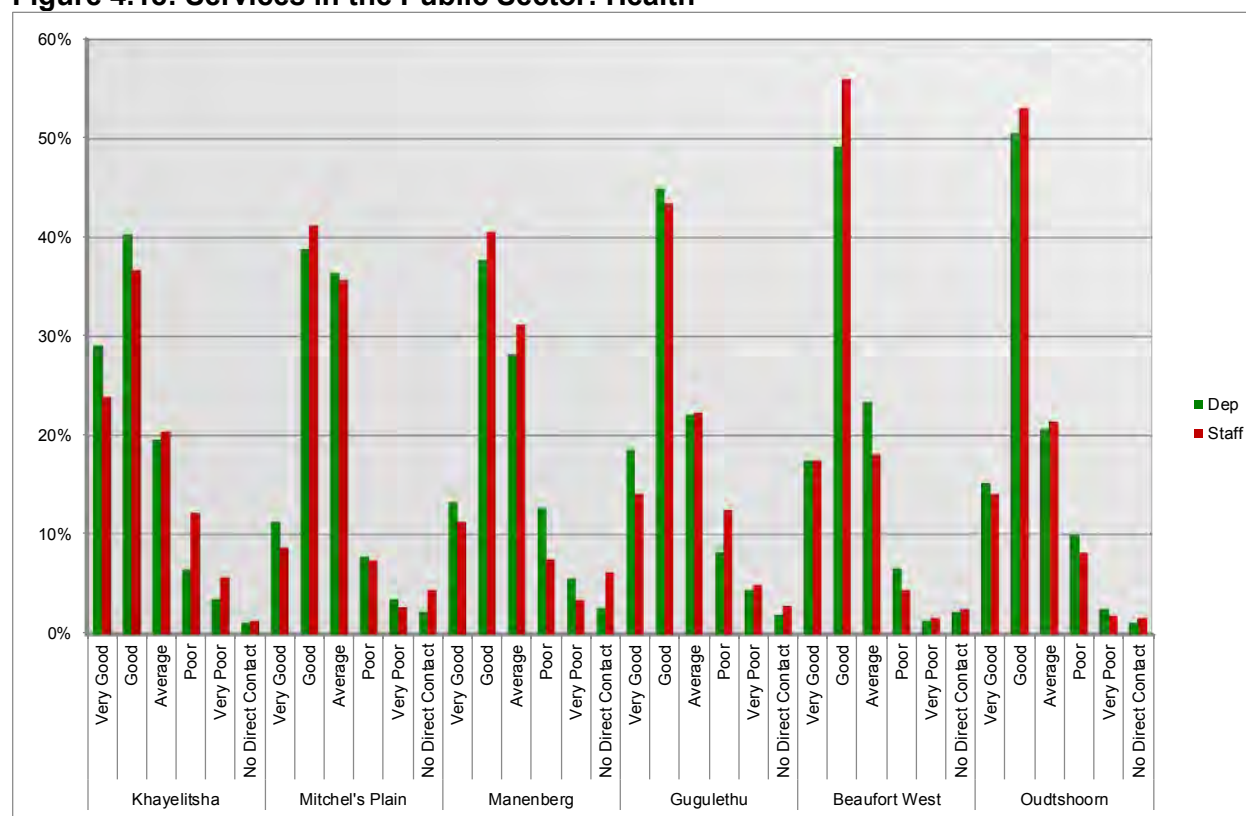
Only 15.8% of the respondents trusted the **politicians** “a lot”, 25.7% trusted them “a little” and 22.3% said “not very much”. The lack of trust was 29.8%, while 6.4% had “no direct experience”. When examining the different areas Khayelitsha rated their “a lot” at 24.0% while Mitchell’s Plain rated their “a lot” 6.3% the lowest of the areas surveyed.

The distribution of ratings of the “a little” category drew the following frequency of responses across the 6 areas of 22.5% to 29.1%. The “not very much” category drew responses in the 21% to 27%, with Khayelitsha being the lowest with 15.6%. The “not at all” category drew the following responses from Gugulethu (33.0%), Mitchell’s Plain (31.2%), Oudtshoorn (31.8%), Manenberg (29.8%), Beaufort West (28.4%) and Khayelitsha (27.9%). The “no direct experience” ranged from 4% to 10% across the areas.

Assessing youth’s ratings of the services in public sector departments, particularly provincial government and national government with local offices, utilisation patterns were tested. The following rating elements were: “very good”, “good”, “average”, “very poor”, “poor” and “no direct experience”.

Health services had an overall rating of “very good” (20.4%) and “good” (40.8%). Khayelitsha (29.1%) had the highest frequency in the “very good” category. Mitchell’s Plain was low in its “very good” category (11.3%) but indicated 38.8% for “good” and 36.4% for “average”. Khayelitsha indicated 40.3% for its “good” and 19.5% for its “average”. Oudtshoorn (50.5%) and Beaufort West (49.1%) rating was 50 percent to “good” health services rendered by the department. Manenberg rated its services by the health department between “good” (37.7%) and “average” (28.2%) but the “very poor” and “poor” was the highest frequency at 18.3%. Gugulethu rated the services “very good” (18.6%), “good” (44.9%), “average” (22.1%) and “very poor”/“poor” (12.6%). The staff particularly in Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn fared better than the department.

Figure 4.18: Services in the Public Sector: Health



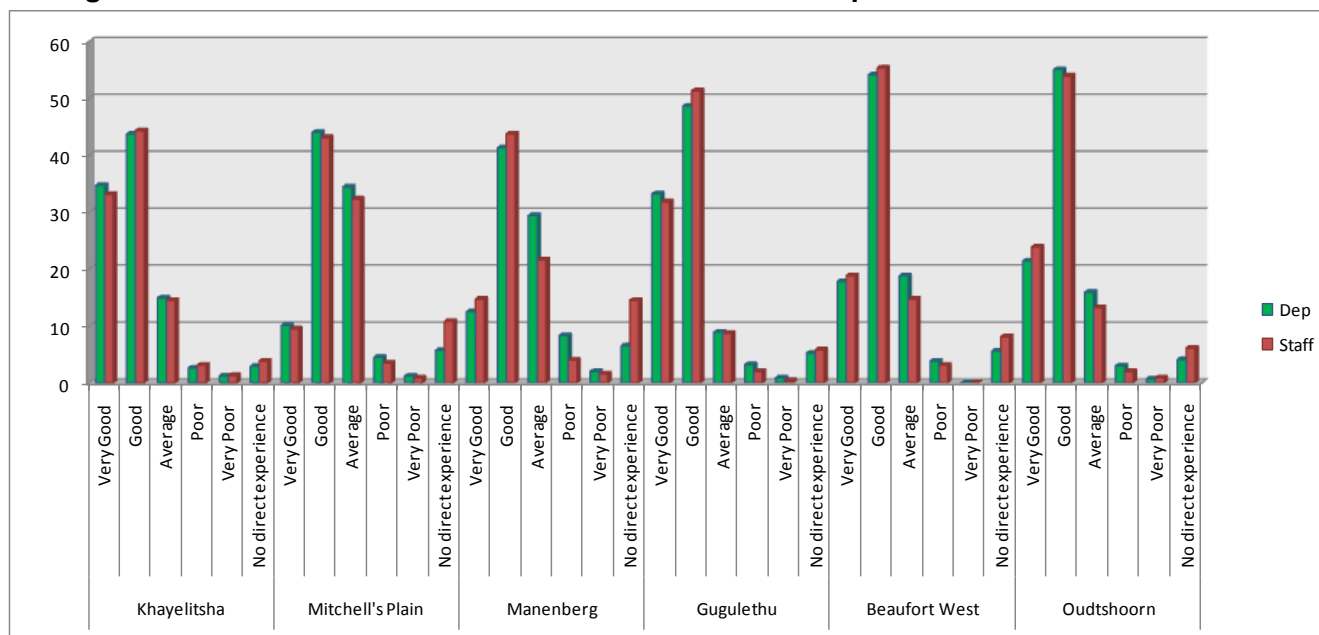
Source: Survey data

The Department of Social Development (formerly known as the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation) received an overall rating of “very good” (24.1%), “good” (45.0%) and “average” (21.7%).

Khayelitsha (34.7%), (43.7%) and Gugulethu (32.2%), (48.6%) recorded these ratings for “very good” and “good”, the two categories raised its positive rating to 81.8% and 78.4%. Two other areas which also gave high rating for services were Oudtshoorn (76.4%) and

Beaufort West (71.9%). For Mitchell's Plain (54.1%) and Manenberg (53.8%) the service rating while lower was still over 50%. Manenberg rated "poor" services with the most responses totalling 8.3%. The staff faired marginally better than the department in Beaufort West, Manenberg and Gugulethu.

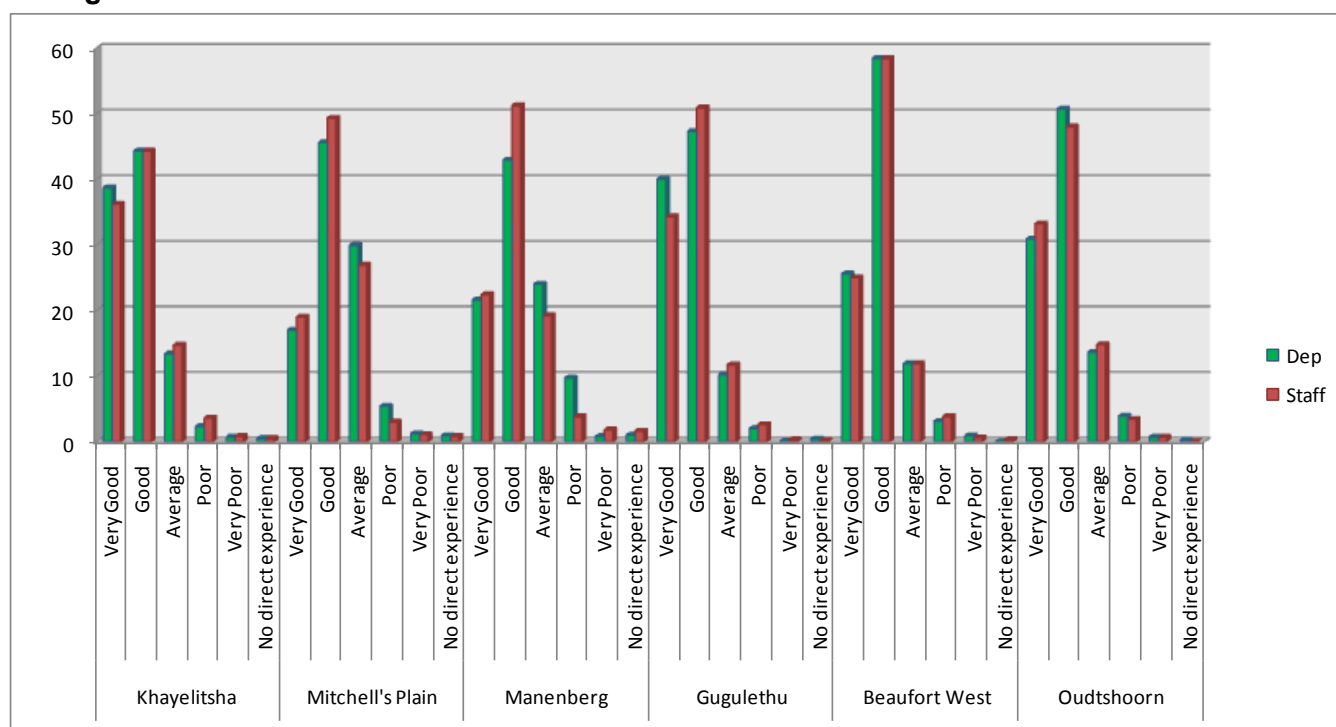
Figure 4.19: Services in the Public Sector: Social Development



Source: Survey data

The Department of Education received an overall of "very good" (30.0%), "good" (45.7%) and "average" (19.1%) indicating yet again as with social development a high service standard for education. Gugulethu, Beaufort West, Khayelitsha and Oudtshoorn rated education over 80%, 87% for the "very good" and "good" categories combined. Manenberg and Mitchell's Plain voted these combined elements in the early sixty percent. Manenberg also indicated poor services with a frequency of 9.7%. Manenberg also rated the staff higher than the department, followed marginally by Gugulethu and Mitchell's Plain.

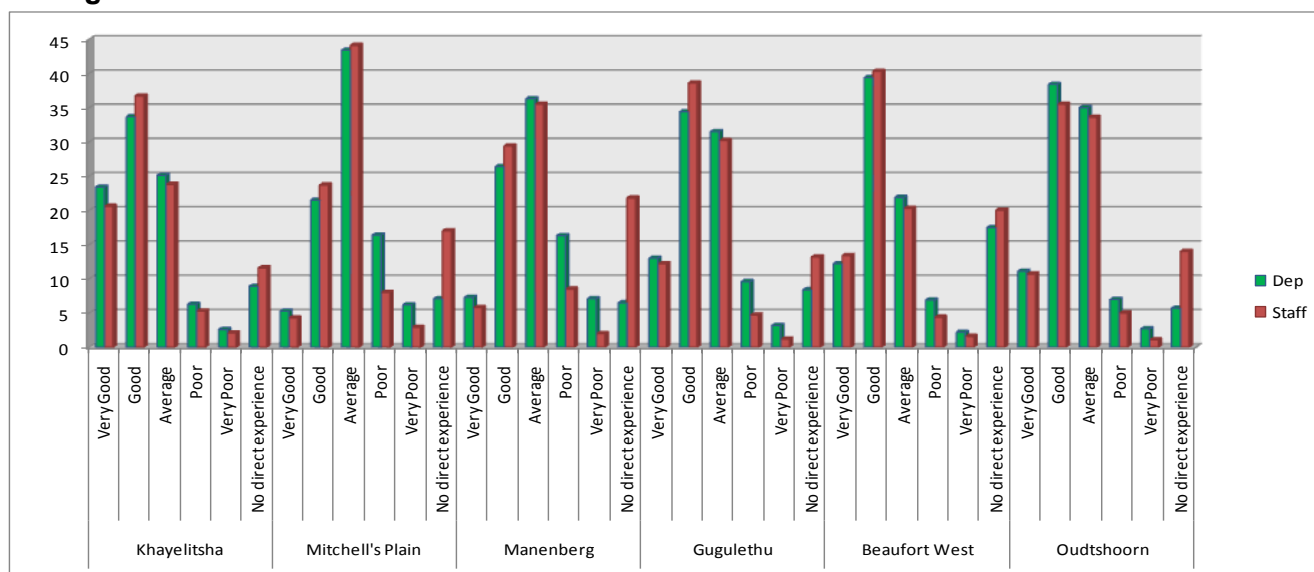
Figure 4.20: Services in the Public Sector: Education



Source: Survey data

The Department of Justice had an overall rating of “very good” (14.7%), “good” (29.8%), “average” (32.7%). “Poor” and “very poor” service was rated at a frequency of 10.5% and 4.1% respectively. Khayelitsha rated the service as “very good” (23.4%) and “good” (33.7%). Oudtshoorn (38.4%), Beaufort West (39.4%) and Gugulethu (34.4%) noted the services as “good”. Manenberg and Mitchell’s Plain rated the services leaning towards “average” and “poor”, “average” (43.4%) and (36.3%) and “poor” (16.4%) and (16.3%) and “very poor” (6.2%) and (7.1%) respectively. The staff fared better than the department in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha.

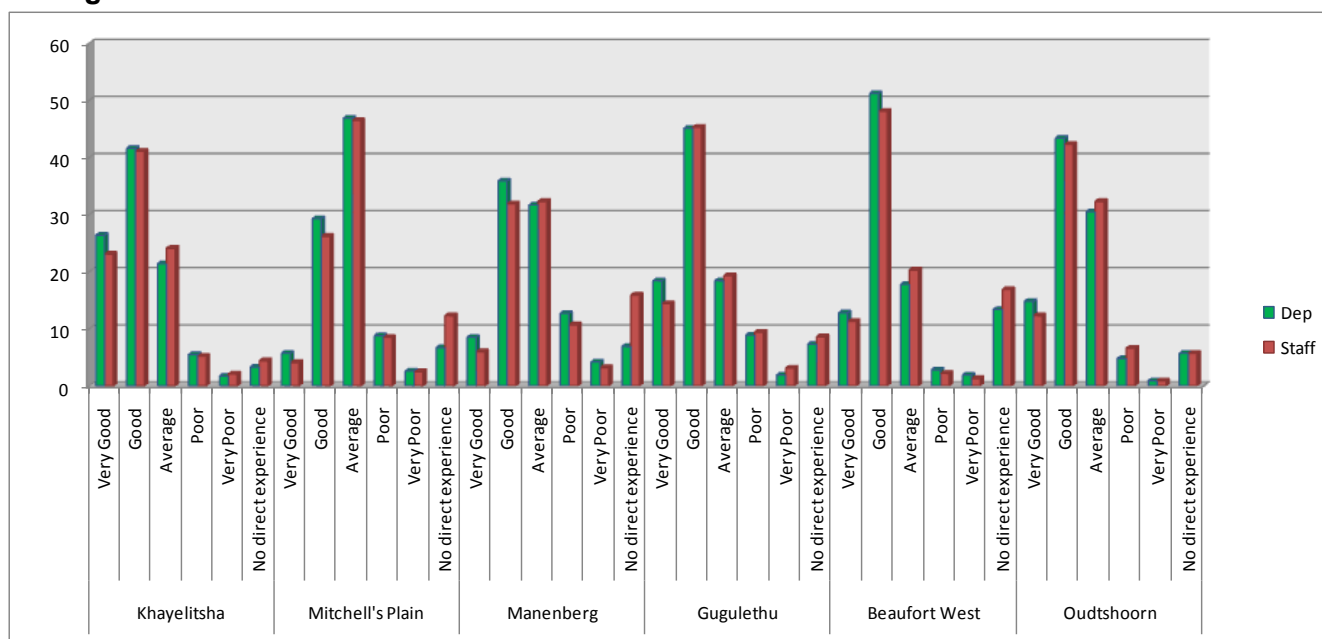
Figure 4.21: Services in the Public Sector: Justice



Source: Survey data

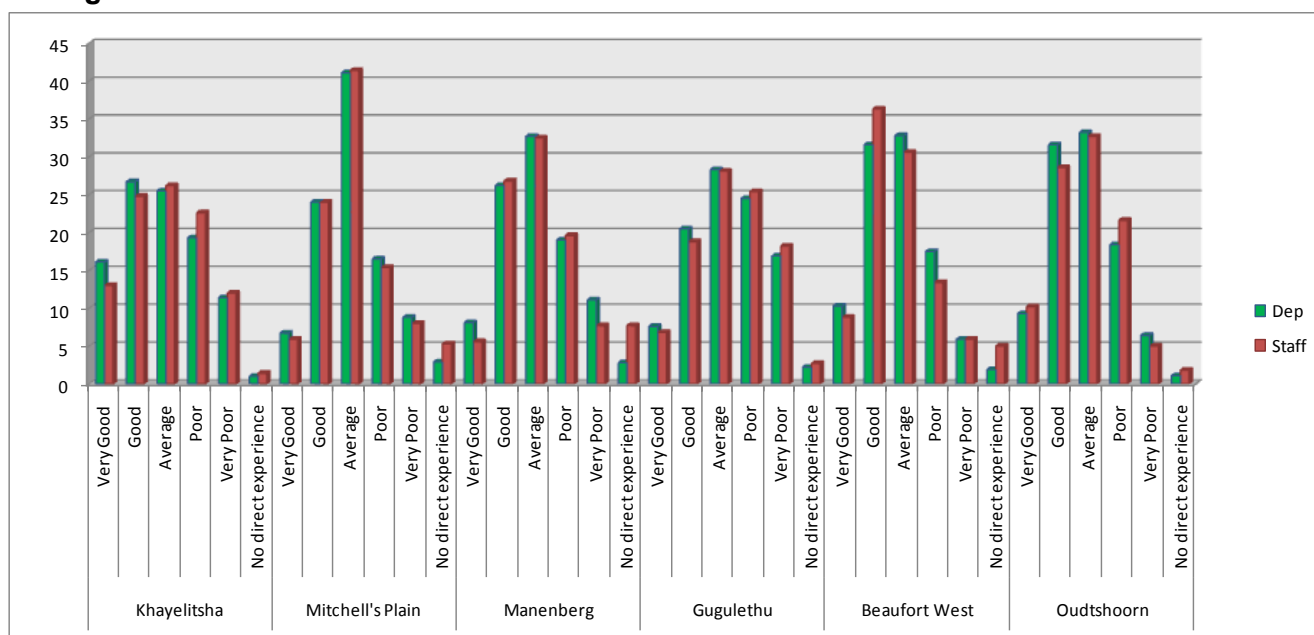
Home Affairs was rated for its services “very good” (16.9%), “good” (38.0%), “average” (30.4%) and “poor” and “very poor” under 10%. Khayelitsha, Gugulethu and Beaufort West rated the services for “very good” and “good” over 60%. Oudtshoorn, Mitchell’s Plain and Manenberg rated the services for categories “good” and “average” between 66% and 70%. Mitchell’s Plain, Manenberg and Gugulethu had frequencies between 8% and 13% indicating some aspects that were considered “poor”.

Figure 4.22: Services in the Public Sector: Home Affairs



Source: Survey data

Figure 4.23: Services in the Public Sector: SAPS

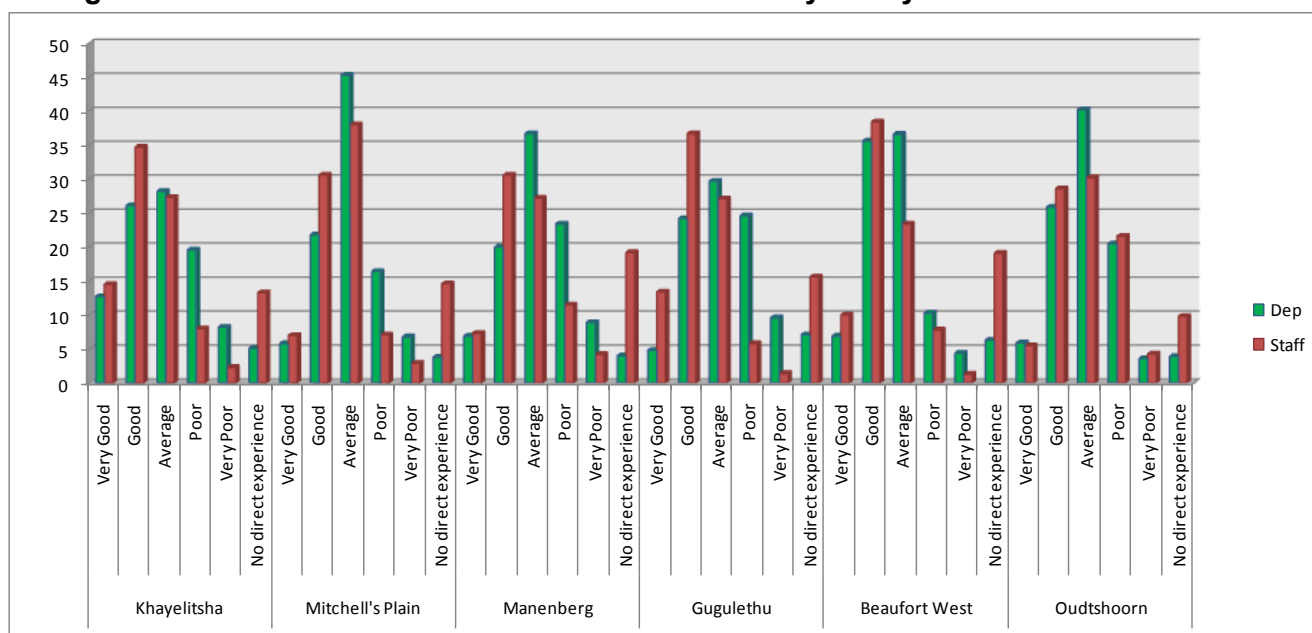


Source: Survey data

The South African Police Services was rated in the following manner, “very good” (11.3%), “good” (25.6%), “average” (31.9%), “poor” (18.7%) and “very poor” (10.6%). Across the areas the police received +50% rating for “good” to “average”. “Poor” to “very poor” was identified in Gugulethu (41.4%), Khayelitsha (30.7%) and Manenberg (29.1%). Mitchell’s Plain, Oudtshoorn and Beaufort West voted the “poor” to “very poor” between 23% and 25%. Beaufort West was the only area which rated the staff better than the department.

The Department of Community Safety was rated as follows: “very good” (8.9%), “good” (24.5%), “average” (35.3%) and “poor” (18.9%) and “very poor” (7.6%). Khayelitsha (12.7%) was the only area which rated this department over the 10% for “very good”. The other areas rated this department for the element “very good” between 4.8% and 6.9%. Beaufort West (35.6%) gave the highest “good” rating. “Average” was responded to in 3 deciles, Mitchell’s Plain (45.3%), Oudtshoorn (40.2%), Manenberg (36.7%), Beaufort West (36.6%), Gugulethu (29.7%) and Khayelitsha (28.2%). Gugulethu rated the department as “good” and “poor” at 24.2% and 24.6% respectively. This area also had the highest rating of the areas for “very poor” (9.6%). Gugulethu, Beaufort West, Manenberg and Khayelitsha rated the staff higher than the department.

Figure 4.24: Services in the Public Sector: Community Safety



Source: Survey data

The Department of Sport and Culture was rated by the youth surveyed with the following ratings, “very good” (12.8%), “good” (31.9%), “average” (32.0%), “poor” (11.6%) and “very poor” (3.5%). In terms of the different areas, “very good” was divided into 2 deciles: Khayelitsha (16.8%), Beaufort West (13.4%) and Manenberg (12.3%).

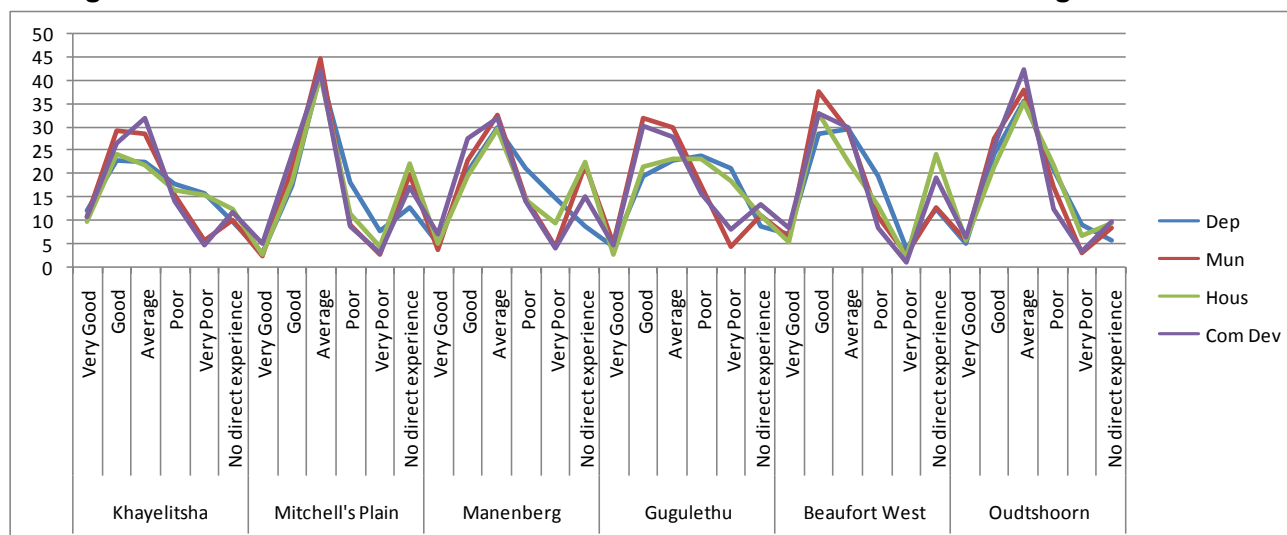
The second decile represented an under 10% for the “very good” category: Oudtshoorn (9.5%), Mitchell’s Plain (9.2%) and Gugulethu (8.5%). Beaufort West indicated their highest rating for this department to be 43.1% “good”. The other areas voted the department between 28% and 36%. Mitchell’s Plain gave its highest response under the category “average” 41.2%, but their collective score of “good” and “average” gives this department 72.5%. Manenberg (13.7%) and Oudtshoorn (15.2%) indicated levels of poor service delivery from the Sport and Culture department.

The Department of Local Government and Housing was rated by the respondents in the following manner: “very good” (7.4%), “good” (20.8%), “average” (30.0%), “poor” (18.8%) and “very poor” (12.7%). Khayelitsha once again gave the highest above average rating for “very good” (11.9%). Beaufort West (28.4%) highest rating was under the “good” category. Mitchell’s Plain (41.7%) led the other areas in the rating of “average”. The rest of the areas rated this department as “average” between 22.3% and 35.5%. Gugulethu (23.9%) again gave their highest rating (23.9%) to the “poor” category. Manenberg (35.9%) gave a high

collective rating of “poor” and “very poor”. Beaufort West (12.2%) respondents had the highest rating for “no direct experience”.

The researcher disaggregated the local government and housing provincial department into its components of local government, namely municipalities, housing, and community development. Khayelitsha rated the community development component (32%), municipality (30%), Department of Housing at 22% in the “average” category as its most frequently rated category. Mitchell’s Plain rated all four components in the 45% range in the “average” category as its most significant statistic. Manenberg gave an “average” rating of 32% as their most frequent response to all four components of this department. Gugulethu rated its highest number of responses in the “good” category. This area rated the municipality and community development elements at 30% and the Department of Housing at 20%, all in the “good” category. The rural node, Beaufort West, gave their highest rating in the “good” category with the municipality getting 36%, 34% for community development and Housing and the Department receiving 29%. Oudtshoorn’s highest ratings were in the “average” category, with community development receiving 41%, 38% for the municipality and the department and housing receiving a 35% rating.

Figure 4.25: Services in the Public Sector: Local Government & Housing



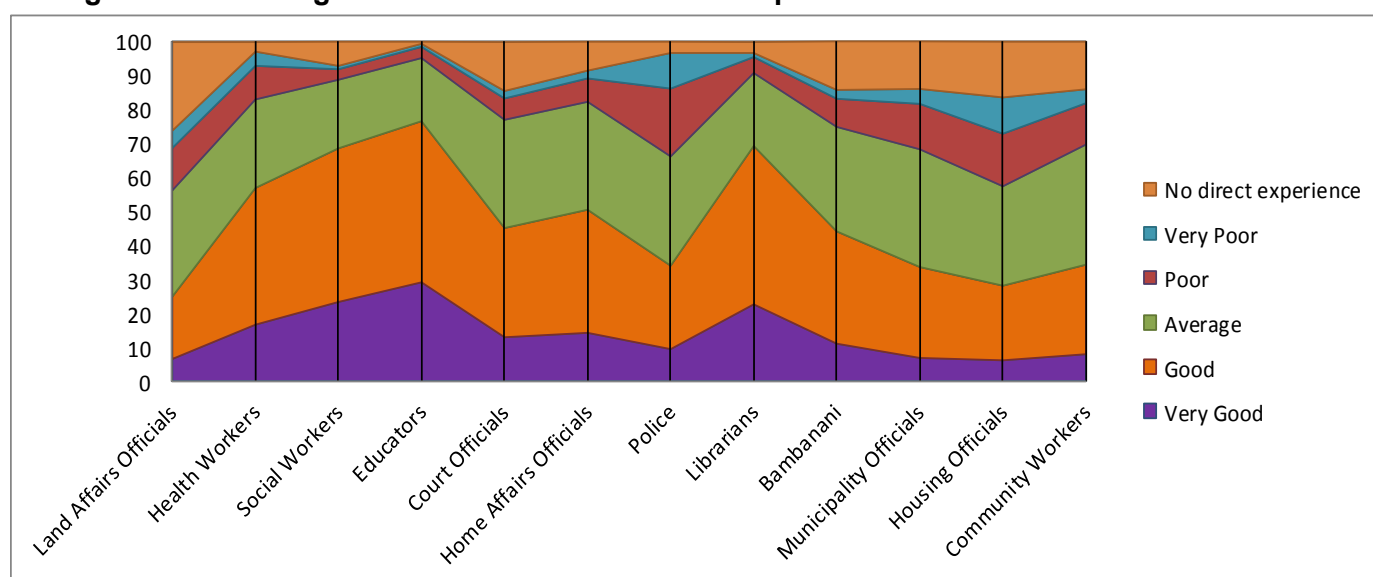
Source: Survey data

The Department of Environmental Affairs and Land Affairs was rated similarly by the youth respondents “very good” (19.7%) and (18.4%), “average” (32.7%) and (31.3%), and “poor” (13.1%) and (12.5%) and “very poor” was indicated at 5.1% for both. These two departments also had a significant number of youth responding in the “no direct experience”, 23.1% and 26.1% respectively.

While Department of Land Affairs could be less involved with youth, the Department of Environmental Affairs needs to be part of consistent education of the youth in terms of their understanding of environmental protection and conservation. The respondents of Khayelitsha rated the Department of Land Affairs and the Department of Environmental Affairs as “very good” category at 10.8% and 11.0% respectively. The trend in the other areas for the two departments were as follows: Beaufort West rated “good” as 28.1% and 28.4% respectively. Mitchell’s Plain gave the “average” rating for both departments as 44.6% and 44.0% respectively. The “poor” category received the high rating from Gugulethu of 17.6% and 15.6% respectively. Gugulethu also responded with a high response rate for “no direct experience” (22.2%) and (38.3%). All areas gave a 2% to 8% rating for “very poor”.

In Question 34 the researcher elicited responses on the degree of generalised trust youth have in particular public sector workers. Question 36 required the youth surveyed to rate the staff of these public sector departments in the implementation of the department’s mandate.

Figure 4.26: Rating of Staff within Public Sector Departments



Source: Survey data

When rating the experience the youth had with **health workers**, Khayelitsha youth rated “very good” at 23.9%. The majority of the areas rated this category between 11% and 17.5%. Mitchell’s Plain (8.7%) indicated the lowest frequency for this element. In the “good” category, the ratings were spread over 3 deciles: Beaufort West (55.9%) and Oudtshoorn (53.0%). 50% Of the areas; Gugulethu (43.4%), Mitchell’s Plain (41.2%) and Manenberg (40.5%) rated the workers as “good”. Khayelitsha rated this element at 36.7%. “Average”

was the rate given by the areas ranging from 18% to 36%. The 3 elements from “very good”, “good” to “average” gave the health workers 83.1%. The “poor” and “very poor” categories had a collective rating at 14.1%.

With regard to the youth experience with **social workers**, “very good” was rated relatively high for Khayelitsha (33.1%) and Gugulethu (31.8%). The rest of the respondents rated this element between 9.5% and 23.9%. The category “good” was divided into 2 deciles for this rating, Beaufort West (55.3%), Oudtshoorn (53.9%) and Gugulethu (51.3%). The second decile was in the forties; Khayelitsha (44.3%), Mitchell’s Plain (43.1%) and Manenberg (43.7%). These 2 elements (68.6%) already exceeded 50% positive experience in the social workers they saw. Manenberg (14.5%) and Mitchell’s Plain (10.8%) indicated that a fair number of youth who had no experience of social workers.

Educators received the highest rating in the categories “very good” and “good”. With the category “average” added the cumulative percentage is 95.2%. Khayelitsha (36.2), Gugulethu (34.3%) and Oudtshoorn (33.2%) rated “very good” in the thirty percent decile. The rest of the areas rated this element between 19% and 25%.

The “good” category was rated into the forty percent and fifty percent deciles. The areas of Beaufort West (58.4%), Manenberg (51.2%) and Gugulethu (50.9%) fell into the fifty percent decile. The forty percent decile included the following areas: Mitchell’s Plain (49.3%), Oudtshoorn (48.0%) and Khayelitsha (44.3%). The “poor” and “very poor” categories were rated 4.5% and lower in each of the areas.

The youth rated **court officials** in the following manner: Khayelitsha (20.5%), Beaufort West (13.4%), Gugulethu (12.2%) and Oudtshoorn (10.7%) rated the “very good” category between 10% and 20%. Beaufort West rated court officials in the “good” category with more than 40%. The remaining areas were divided into 2 deciles, thirty percent and twenty percent deciles. Gugulethu (38.6%), Khayelitsha (36.7%) and Oudtshoorn (35.5%) were all in the thirty percent decile.

Manenberg (29.4%) and Mitchells Plain (23.7%) were in the twenty percent decile. Mitchell’s Plain respondents rated court officials with 44.1% for “average” performance by court officials. The remaining areas rated “average” between 20% and 35%. Manenberg and Mitchell’s Plain responded with 8.5% and 8% for the “poor” service standards by court officials. Manenberg (21.8%) and Beaufort West (20.0%) responded with having “no direct experience” with court officials.

When the respondents were asked to rate the staff at **Home Affairs**, the following was reported: “very good” and “good” were rated at 50.6%, the “average” rating was 31.8%. “Poor” and “very poor” was given a 6.9% and 2.3% rating. Khayelitsha (23.1%) gave the “very good” element the highest rating. The other areas rated this element between 4 and 14%. The majority of the areas responses for the element “good” were between 41% and 48%. The “average” element was rated with the highest frequency by Mitchell’s Plain (46.5%). Manenberg and Oudtshoorn gave Home Affairs officials the same “average” rating of 32.3%. Manenberg also rated the officials as “poor” with a frequency of 10.7%.

The **Police** were given the following ratings: “very good” (9.4%), “good” (24.6%), “average” 32.2%), “poor” (20.0%) and “very poor” (10.5%). Beaufort West (36.3%) rated the police as “good”. The other areas rated “good” as follows: Oudtshoorn (28.6%), Manenberg (26.8%), Khayelitsha (24.8%) and Mitchell’s Plain (24.0%). Gugulethu rated the police as “good” with the lowest frequency of 18.8%. Mitchell’s Plain (41.4%) posted its highest frequency in the “average” category. The rest of this category was presented in 2 deciles. The thirty percent decile had the following areas: Oudtshoorn (32.7%), Manenberg (32.5%) and Beaufort West (30.6%), Gugulethu (28.1%) and Khayelitsha (26.2%) were in the twenty percent decile. The “poor” category had 3 areas in the twenty percent decile: Gugulethu (25.4%), Khayelitsha (22.6%) and Oudtshoorn (21.6%). The other 3 were in the 10 percent decile, Manenberg (19.6%), Mitchell’s Plain (15.4%) and Beaufort West (13.4%). Gugulethu (18.2%) also had the highest frequency in the category “very poor” rating.

Librarians, like educators and social workers were rated highly. The “very good” category was rated 22.6%, “good” was rated 46.7% and “average” was rated at 21.5%. The “poor” and “very poor” were rated at 5.9%. Gugulethu (34.2%) rated the librarians with the highest frequency of responses for the “very good” category. Beaufort West (55.3%) rated the staff of this department in the “good” category. The remaining areas all rated this category in the forty percent decile: Mitchell’s Plain (47.0%), Khayelitsha (46.8%), Manenberg (45.0%), Gugulethu (44.2%) and Oudtshoorn (44.5%). Oudtshoorn also rated the highest frequency of responses in the category “average” at 30.5%.

The other areas rated this category between 13% and 28.5%. Manenberg (8.5%) and Oudtshoorn (8.0%) respondents also rated the “poor” category, while the other areas rating for this category was between 2.8% to 4.6%.

When the youth respondents were asked to rate the **Bambanani volunteers** of the Department of Community Safety, they were rated as follows: “very good” (11.0%), “good” (33.1%), “average” (30.8%) and “poor” (8.3%) and “very poor” (2.6%). The “very good” category received responses of between 5.5% and 14.5% across the 6 areas. Beaufort West gave the workers a “good” rating of 38.4%. Oudtshoorn (28.6%) gave the lowest rating in this category. The remaining areas were rated in the thirty percent decile: Gugulethu (36.7%), Khayelitsha (34.7%) and Mitchell’s Plain and Manenberg both rated equally at 30.6%.

In respect of **local municipal officials**, the youth surveyed rated them as follows: “very good” (6.8%), “good” (26.8%), “average” (34.7%), “poor” (13.4%), “very poor” (4.4%) and 14.0% said that they had no direct experience with the department and its officials. Khayelitsha (10.9%) gave the “very good” category the highest frequency of responses. The rest of the areas rated local municipal officials in this category between 2.3% to 6.3%. Beaufort West (37.8%) rated the “good” category with the highest frequency. The remaining areas rated these officials in this category between 21.1% and 32.0%. Mitchell’s Plain (44.8%) highest frequency of responses was in the “average” category. The rest of the responses were in the thirty and twenty percent decile. In the thirty percent decile, Oudtshoorn rated this category of worker at 38.2% and Manenberg as 32.5%. The twenty percent decile included the following areas: Gugulethu (29.8%), Beaufort West (29.4%), and Khayelitsha (28.5%). Both Gugulethu (17.4%) and Oudtshoorn (17.0%) gave this “poor” rating.

The respondents when asked to rate the **housing officials**, they received the lowest “very good” (6.1%), rating “good” received a 22.0% rating and “average” (29.3%). “Poor” (15.5%) and “very poor” (10.7%) received the highest frequency of all the departments. The areas rated the “very good” category under ten percent. The “good” category was divided into 3 deciles: Mitchell’s Plain (18.5%), Beaufort West (33.1%), Khayelitsha (24.2%), Oudtshoorn (21.6%) and Gugulethu (21.4%). Manenberg (19.4%) and Mitchell’s Plain (41.1%) gave their highest response in the “average” category. The rest of the areas fell in the twenty percent decile: Manenberg (29.6%), Gugulethu (23.3%), Beaufort West (22.5%) and Khayelitsha (21.8%). The “poor” category received a highest frequency of responses from Gugulethu (23.3%) and Oudtshoorn (21.8%).

The other areas rated this category between 11% and 16.5%. Gugulethu also gave the “very poor” category a response of 18.4%. A significant number of the youth surveyed had no direct experience with the staff of this department. It ranked from 9% to 24%.

Community workers rated by the areas indicated the following: “very good” (7.9%), “good” (26.4%), “average” (35.4%), “poor” (12.2%) and “very poor” (4.1%). Khayelitsha following a consistent trend rated this element “very good” at 10.7%. The remaining areas rated this element under ten percent. Beaufort West (33.1%) also in its consistent trend had the highest frequency of responses in the “good” category. Gugulethu (30.2%), Manenberg (27.6%), Oudtshoorn (25.9%) and Mitchell’s Plain (24.2%) received “good” ratings. The “average” rating received 42.5% (Oudtshoorn) and Mitchell’s Plain 42%. The rest of the areas rated this element between 27% and 32%. Gugulethu rated “poor” and “very poor” with a significant rate of 15.8% and 8% respectively.

Table 4.30: Rating of staff within Public Sector Departments

Question Items		Geographic area		All N = 9932
		Nodal n=8071	Non-nodal n=1861	
Health staff/ workers	Poor/Very Poor	1146 (14.6)	259 (14.4)	1405 (14.5)
	Average	2141 (27.2)	456 (25.4)	2597 (26.9)
	Good/Very Good	4574 (58.2)	1082 (60.2)	5656 (58.6)
	Total	7861 (100.0)	1797 (100.0)	9658 (100.0)
Social workers	Poor/Very Poor	347 (4.6)	63 (3.7)	410 (4.4)
	Average	1755 (23.3)	247 (14.5)	2002 (21.7)
	Good/Very Good	5417 (72.0)	1398 (81.9)	6815 (73.9)
	Total	7519 (100.0)	1708 (100.0)	9227 (100.0)
Educators	Poor/Very Poor	342 (4.3)	73 (3.9)	415 (4.2)
	Average	1579 (19.7)	269 (14.5)	1848 (18.7)
	Good/Very Good	6101 (76.1)	1509 (81.5)	7610 (77.1)
	Total	8022 (100.0)	1851 (100.0)	9873 (100.0)
Court officials	Poor/Very Poor	710 (10.2)	134 (8.5)	844 (9.9)
	Average	2581 (37.2)	589 (37.6)	3170 (37.3)
	Good/Very Good	3638 (52.5)	845 (53.9)	4483 (52.8)
	Total	6929 (100.0)	1568 (100.0)	8497 (100.0)
Home Affairs Officials	Poor/Very Poor	697 (9.4)	217 (12.9)	914 (10.1)
	Average	2672 (36.0)	482 (28.7)	3154 (34.7)
	Good/Very Good	4044 (54.6)	978 (58.3)	5022 (55.2)
	Total	7413 (100.0)	1677 (100.0)	9090 (100.0)
Police persons	Poor/Very Poor	2378 (30.4)	655 (36.6)	3033 (31.6)
	Average	2630 (33.6)	566 (31.6)	3196 (33.3)
	Good/Very Good	2812 (36.0)	568 (31.7)	3380 (35.2)
	Total	7820 (100.0)	1789 (100.0)	9609 (100.0)
Librarians	Poor/Very Poor	440 (5.6)	151 (8.4)	591 (6.1)
	Average	1769 (22.6)	371 (20.7)	2140 (22.3)
	Good/Very Good	5607 (71.7)	1274 (70.9)	6881 (71.6)
	Total	7816 (100.0)	1796 (100.0)	9612 (100.0)
Bambanani volunteers	Poor/Very Poor	815 (11.7)	259 (16.4)	1074 (12.6)
	Average	2542 (36.6)	519 (32.9)	3061 (35.9)
	Good/Very Good	3580 (51.6)	800 (50.7)	4380 (51.4)
	Total	6937 (100.0)	1578 (100.0)	8515 (100.0)
Local Municipal	Poor/Very Poor	1379 (19.9)	384 (23.9)	1763 (20.6)

Question Items		Geographic area		All N = 9932
		Nodal n=8071	Non-nodal n=1861	
officials	Average	2839 (41.0)	606 (37.6)	3445 (40.3)
	Good/Very Good	2711 (39.1)	620 (38.5)	3331 (39.0)
	Total	6929 (100.0)	1610 (100.0)	8539 (100.0)
Housing officials	Poor/Very Poor	1975 (29.5)	628 (39.1)	603 (31.3)
	Average	2397 (35.8)	517 (32.2)	2914 (35.1)
	Good/Very Good	2328 (34.7)	460 (28.7)	2788 (33.6)
	Total	6700 (100.0)	1605 (100.0)	8305 (100.0)
Community workers	Poor/Very Poor	1247 (18.0)	377 (23.3)	1624 (19.0)
	Average	2909 (42.0)	605 (37.4)	3514 (41.1)
	Good/Very Good	2770 (40.0)	636 (39.3)	3406 (39.9)
	Total	6926 (100.0)	1618 (100.0)	8544 (100.0)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

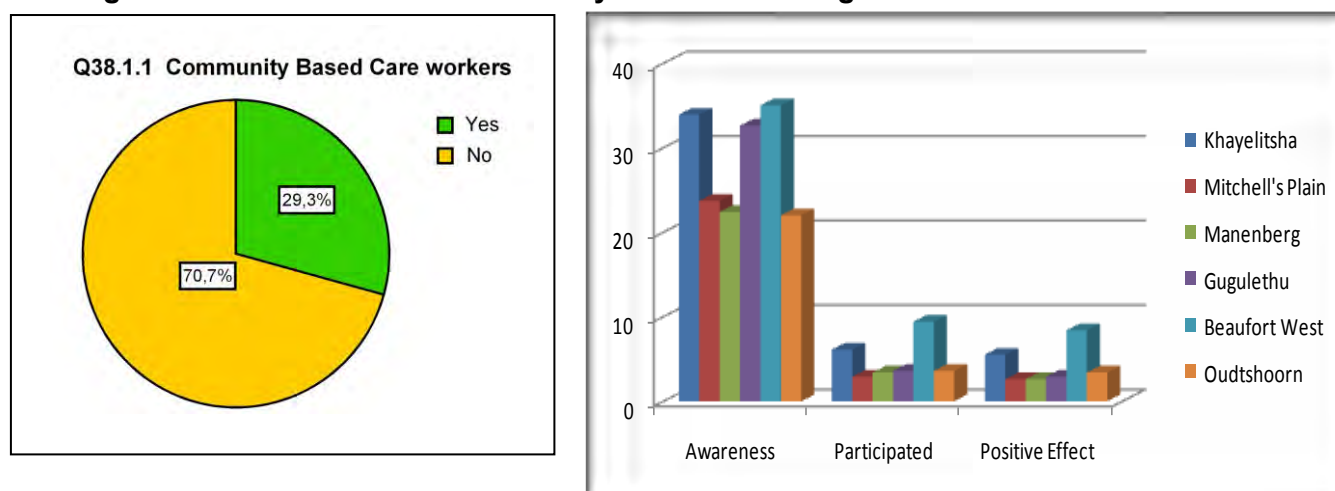
In Question 38 the respondents were asked to state their opinion about certain government services. In Question 38.1 the interviewer asked the respondents if they were aware of each of the following listed initiatives below:

Community Based Care
School Governing Bodies
Learner Representative Councils
Job Seekers Centres
Expanded Public Works Programme
District Transformation Councils
Internships/Learnerships
Bambanani
Community Development Workers at Local Government
Siyandlala Mass Participation Programme
Sport Stepping Stones
Red Door
Wheelie Wagon
Youth Commission
Child Commissioner
Human Rights Commission
Gender Commission
Farm Workers Development and Land Care

In Question 38.2 focused on the usage or participation in these listed public sector initiatives. Once the pattern of participation was assessed, Question 38.3 focused on whether the programme had a beneficial effect on the youth who participated.

In Question 38.1, the results showed that only four initiatives achieved more than 50% of awareness among the youth.

Figure 4.27: Awareness of Community Based Care Programme



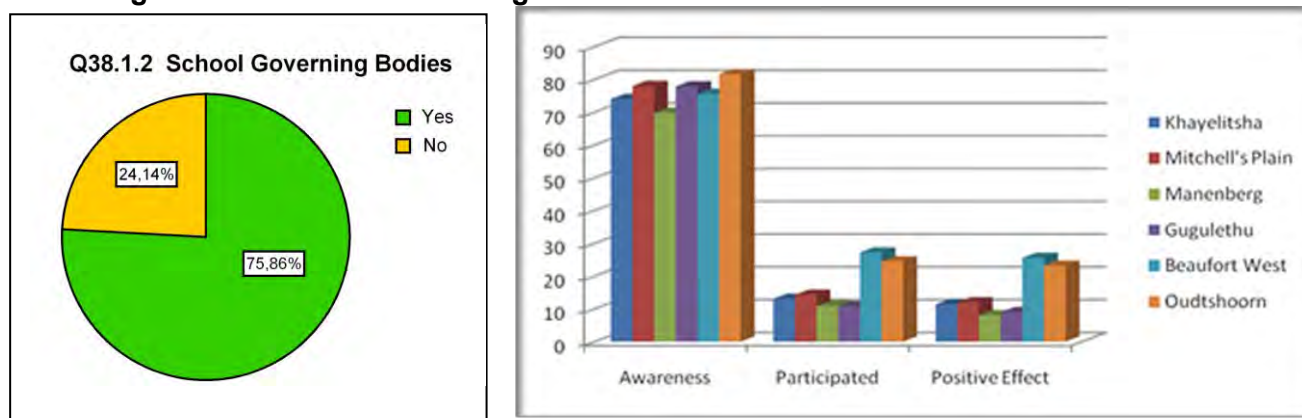
Source: Survey data

In regard to **Community Based Care Workers**, 29.3% of the youth were aware of the programme, while 70.7% had no knowledge. In looking at this programme through the lens of the 6 areas, the following became evident. In Beaufort West (35.0%), Khayelitsha (33.9%) and Gugulethu (32.6%) there was more “awareness” than in Mitchell’s Plain (23.7%), Manenberg (22.4%) and Oudtshoorn (22.0%). Within the 70.7% who had no knowledge, Oudtshoorn (78.0%) and Manenberg (77.6%) rated this, the highest of the 4.7% who used the programme. Beaufort West (9.4%) indicated the highest utilisation with 8.4% indicating a “positive effect”. The areas indicated the following utilisation and “positive effect”: Khayelitsha (6.1%), (5.5%), Oudtshoorn (3.6%) (3.4%), Gugulethu (3.6%) (2.9%), Manenberg (3.4%) (2.6%) and Mitchell’s Plain (2.9%) (2.6%)

The **School Governing Body** programme implemented by government in schools had the highest resonance among the youth surveyed: 75.8% Of the youth were aware of the programme, 14.2% of this number had “participated”. Oudtshoorn (81.6%) gave this programme the highest rating for “awareness”. The other areas rated “awareness” of school governing bodies between 69% and 78%. In terms of participation, Beaufort West (27.2%) had the highest impact out of the overall responses of the 6 areas of 25.6%. Oudtshoorn

also had a relatively high utilisation pattern of 24.5% and the “positive effect” was rated at 23.2%. The other areas showed utilisation between 10.8% and 14.3% with “positive effect” being between 8.1% and 11.4%.

Figure 4.28: School Governing Bodies



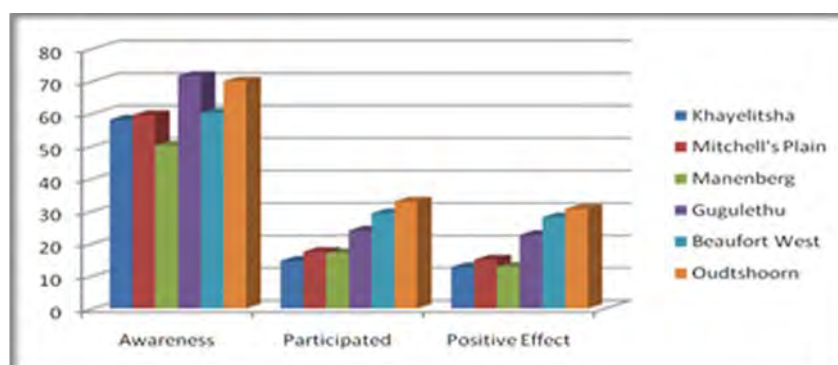
Source: Survey data

In respect of the **Learner Representative Council** as indicated on the table below: 60% of the youth were aware of this programme. Within this “awareness” 17.9% participated. Gugulethu rated the highest “awareness” (71.7%) followed by Oudtshoorn (70%) and they also recorded utilisation of 24.1% and 33.0% respectively and “positive effect” was rated at 22.7% and 30.7% respectively. The other areas rated “awareness” between 50.2% and 60%, and utilisation between 14% and 29% and for “positive effect” on those who participated, it was rated between 12.8% and 28.1%.

Table 4.31` and Figure 4.29: Learner Representative Councils

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	1778	17,9
No	4191	42,2
Total	5969	60,1
Not aware	3963	39,9
Total	9932	100,0

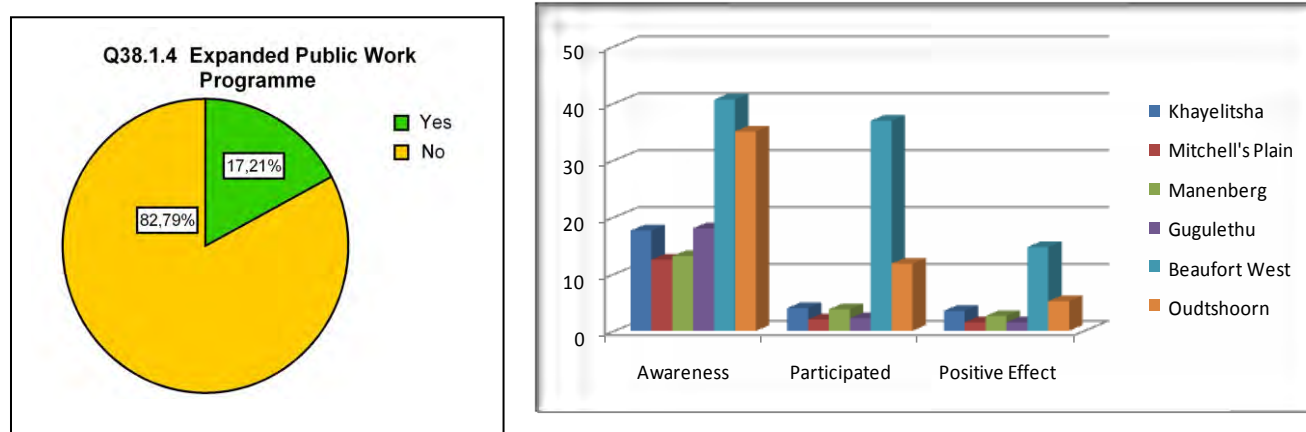
Source: Survey data



The **Expanded Public Works Programme** is a government programme specifically targeting high levels of youth unemployment. 17.2% Of the respondents said they were aware of the programme. Of the 1709 (17.2%) who were aware of this programme, 385 (22.5%) used the programme. Beaufort West (40.6%) and Oudtshoorn (35.0%) indicated

the highest “awareness” of the programme. The rate of utilisation for these 2 areas was 36.9% and 11.8% respectively. The other areas rated their “awareness” of between 12.5% and 18%. As a result of this low “awareness” in these areas the utilisation was only between 2% and 4%. The highest “positive effect” was Beaufort West (14.7%) all the other areas rated this element between 1.5% and 5.2%.

Figure 4.30: Expanded Public Works Programme



Source: Survey data

The **District Transformation Councils** was a programme initiated in the Department of Social Development to engage local communities in service improvement at the District Offices – the department has 16 District Offices. It was also initiated to assist with the identification of the development and welfare agenda in the district. Only 10.1% were aware of the programme, within this 10.1% only 2.0% used the programme.

Of the 10.1% who said they were aware of these councils, Beaufort West (13.4%), Gugulethu (12.3%) and Khayelitsha (11.7%) rated in the over 10 percent decile. Utilisation of these in the areas ranged between 1.7% and 3.1%. The other areas rated their “awareness” below ten percent, utilisation under 2% and positive effect under 3.1%.

Table 4.32 and Figure 4.31: District Transformation Council

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	201	2,0
No	802	8,1
Sub-total	1003	10,1
Were not aware of initiative	8929	89,9
Total	9932	100,0

Source: Survey data

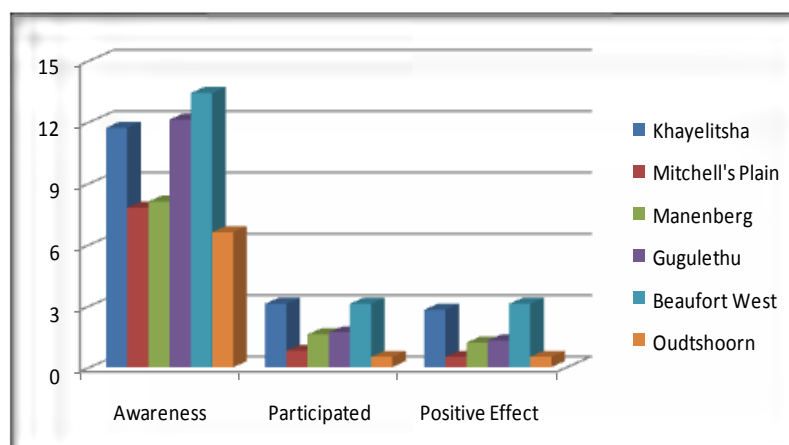
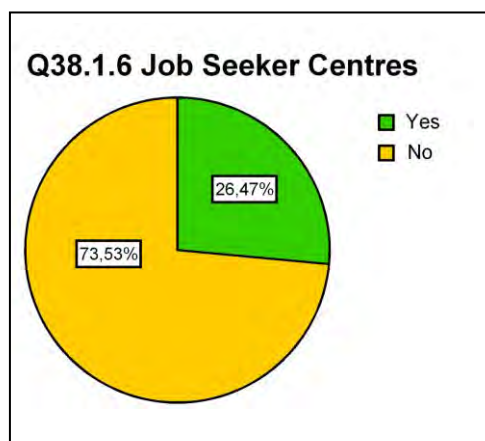
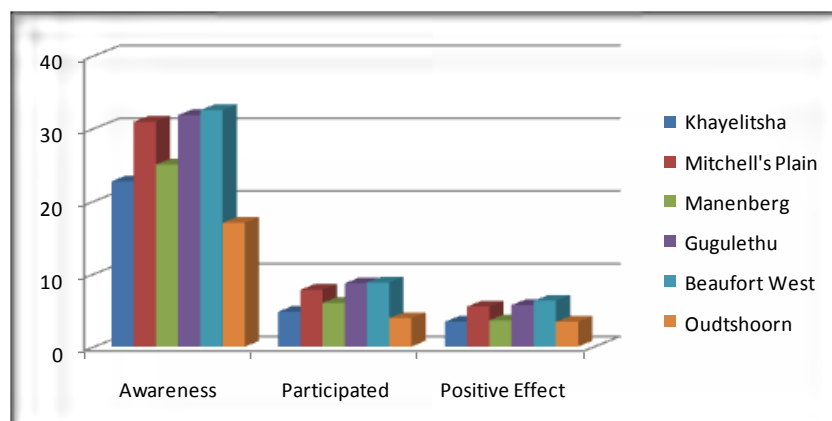


Figure 4.32: Job Seekers Centre



Source: Survey data

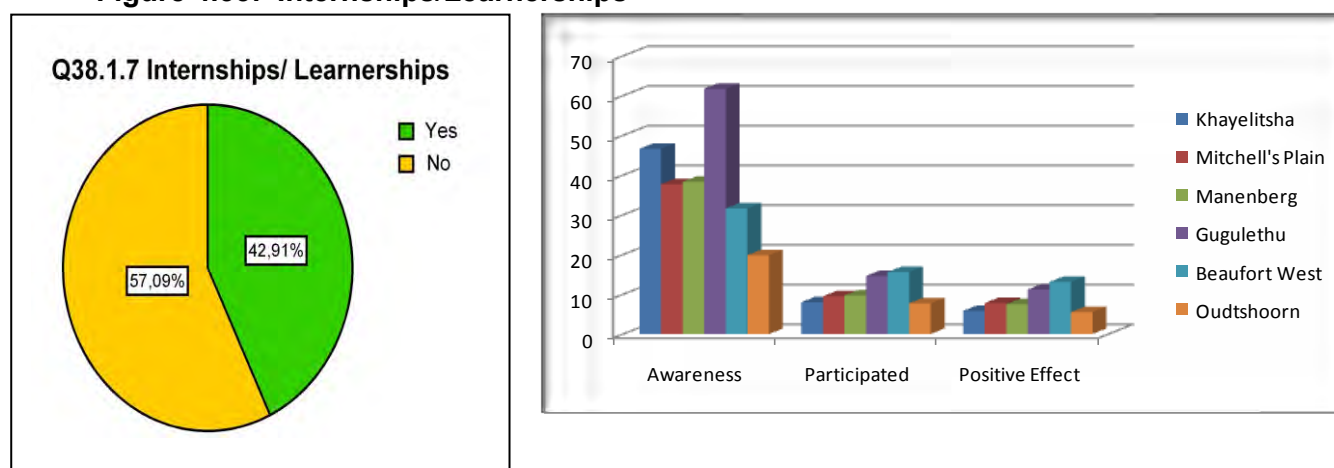


The table above addresses the **Job Seekers Centre Programme**, 26.4% of the youth said they were aware of the departments programme and of that number 6.3% made use of the programme. Beaufort West (32.5%), Gugulethu (31.8%) and Mitchell's Plain (30.9%) rated their "awareness" in the thirty percent decile. The remaining areas rated this element between 17% and 25%. Participation rates were within the ten percent decile by Beaufort West (8.8%) and Gugulethu (8.7%) and Beaufort West also derived the most benefit at 6.3% and Mitchell's Plain at 5.5%.

The **Internships/Learnerships Programmes** of government is another initiative to provide young people with experience in the work place. Of the youth surveyed, 42.9% knew of this programme. Of this number, 9.4% "participated" in this programme. In the area disaggregation, Gugulethu (61.7%) and Khayelitsha (46.6%) displayed the most "awareness" of the programme. The other areas rated their "awareness" between 19.8%

and 38.3%. In terms of participation, Beaufort West (15.6%) and Gugulethu (14.6%) demonstrated a higher level of participation compared to the other areas which participated with a rating of under ten percent 7.7% to 9.7%. Gugulethu (11.2%) and Beaufort West (13.1%) experienced a higher “positive effect” compared to the other areas which rated this element under ten percent.

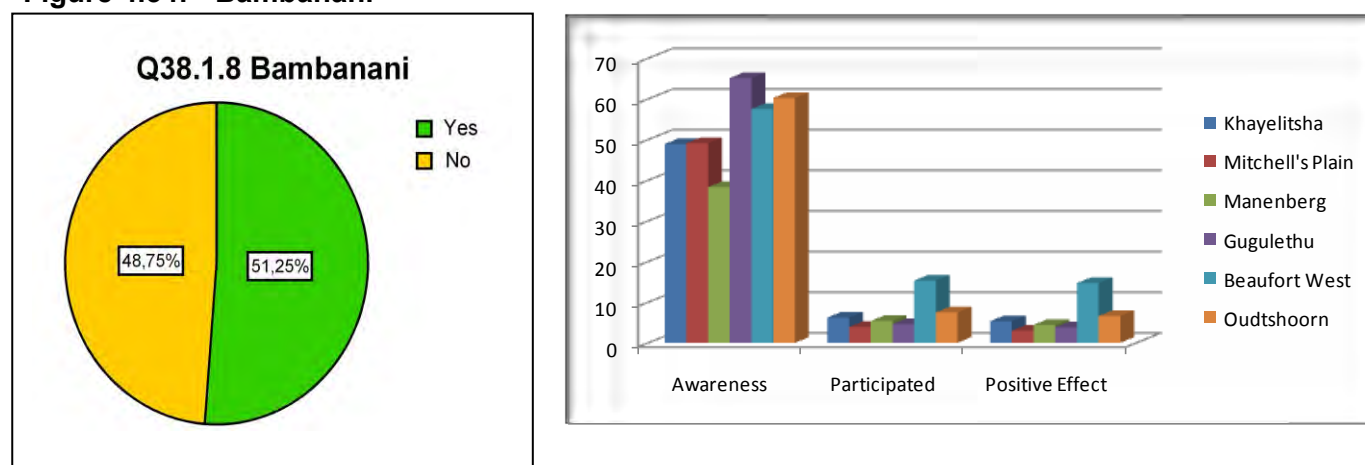
Figure 4.33: Internships/Learnerships



Source: Survey data

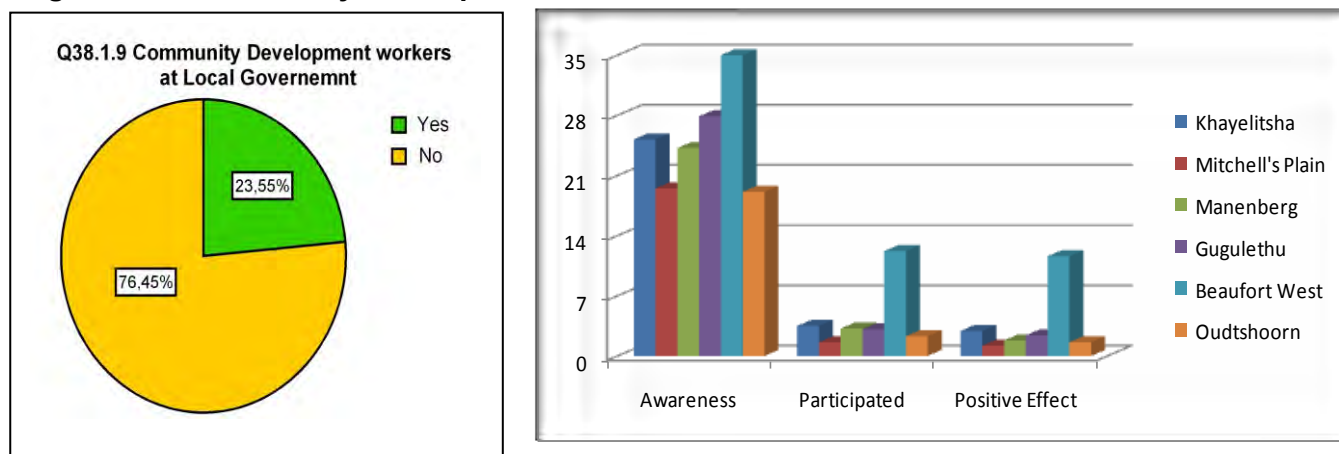
The **Bambanani Volunteer Programme** had a 51.2% “awareness” rating. Gugulethu (65.1%), Oudtshoorn (60.2%) and Beaufort West (57.8%) gave a higher rating for “awareness” compared to the areas, Mitchell’s Plain (49.1%), Khayelitsha (48.9%) and Manenberg (38.3%). Beaufort West (15.3%) indicated the highest participation in the programme all the other areas participation in the programme, was under 10% in the 3.9% to 7.5% range. The same pattern was evidenced in respect to the “positive effect”, Beaufort West (14.7%) and other areas rated this element between 3.0% and 6.6%.

Figure 4.34: Bambanani



Source: Survey data

Figure 4.35: Community Development Workers



Source: Survey data

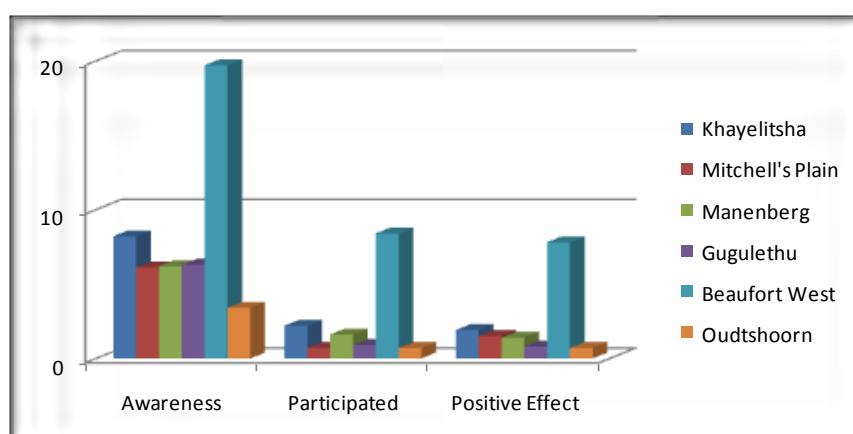
The **Community Development Workers** are based at the Department of Local Government and Housing. This is the central link in communities to government services. They also unlock blockages in facilitating access to government services.

The “awareness” of this programme was rated in 3 deciles by the six areas: Beaufort West (35.0%), Gugulethu (27.9%), Khayelitsha (25.2%), Manenberg (24.2%), Mitchell’s Plain (19.5%) and Oudtshoorn (19.1%). The level of participation was very low 3.5% to 1.6%, excepting for Beaufort West (12.2%) utilisation rate and it had a commensurate 11.6% “positive effect” on youth who used the programme.

Table 4.33 and Figure 4.36: Siyadlala MPP

	Freque ncy	Percent
Yes	170	1,7
No	567	5,7
Sub-total	737	7,4
Were not aware of initiative	9195	92,6
Total	9932	100,0

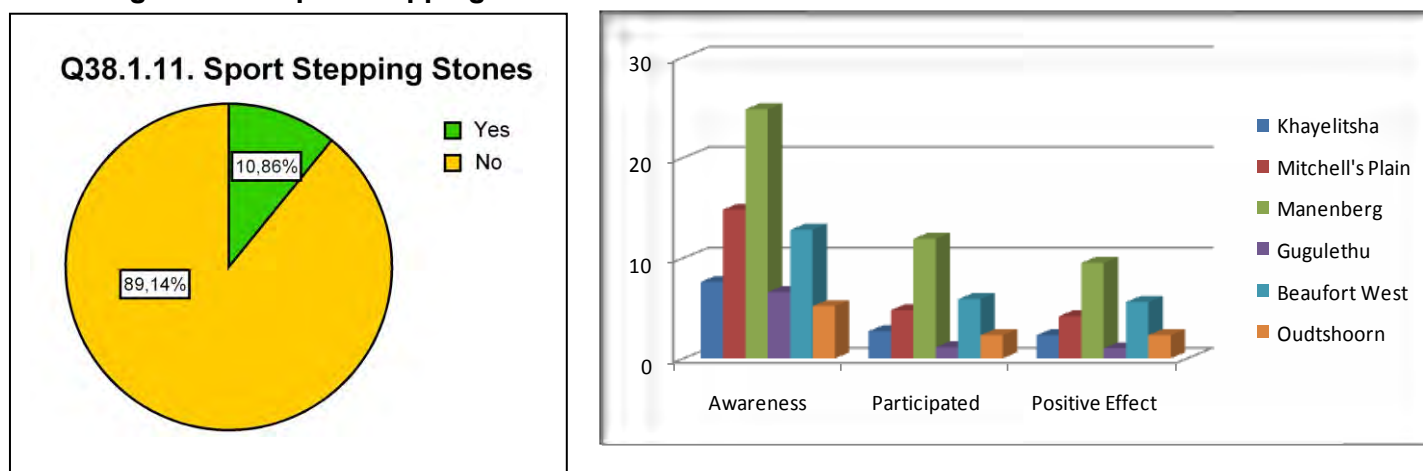
Source: Survey data



Of the surveyed youth only 7.4% were aware of the **Siyadlala Mass Participation Programme** of the Department of Sport and Culture and only 1.7% “participated”. Beaufort West (19.7%) was the only area with significant “awareness”.

All the other areas indicated limited “awareness” of 8.2% and less. Beaufort West also indicated participation of 8.4% in the programme and indicated a “positive effect” of 7.8%. The rest of the areas indicated a participation rate of 2.2% and less and resultantly, the “positive effect” for these areas was 1.9% and less.

Figure 4.37: Sport Stepping Stones



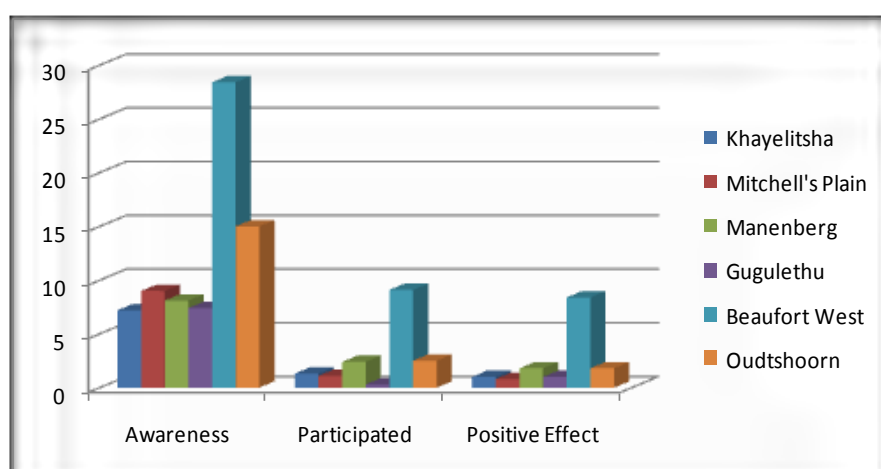
Source: Survey data

The above table reviews the “awareness” of the **Sport Stepping Stones Programme** which was 10.8% and the utilisation frequency in this programme was 3.8%. Manenberg (24.8%) recorded the highest level of “awareness” and a “participation” rate of 11.9% and a “positive effect” of the programme being 9.5%. The rest of the areas indicated “awareness” of 5.2% to 14.8% and “participation” rates of 1.1% to 5.9% and the “positive effect” 1.0% to 5.6%.

Table 4.34 and Figure 4.38: Red Door

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	150	1,5
No	733	7,4
Sub-total	883	8,9
Were not aware of initiative	9049	91,1
Total	9932	100,0

Source: Survey data

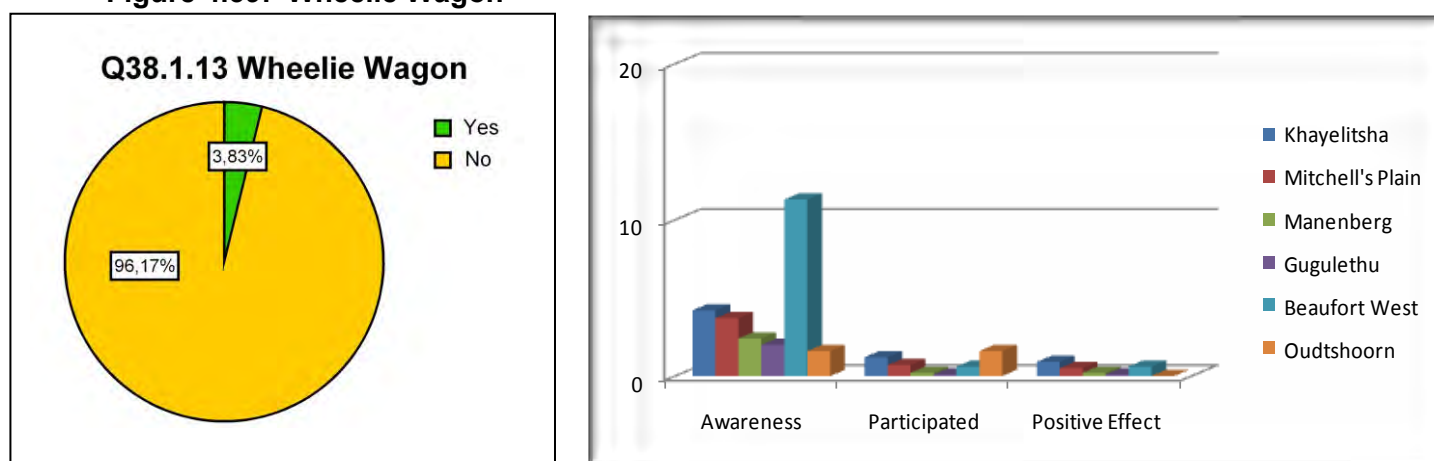


The **Red Door Programme** of the Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism in the Western Cape is a programme to support emerging entrepreneurs with budgeting, new product development, business case development and networking.

Of the youth surveyed only 8.9% knew of the programme and 1.5% had used this resource. Beaufort West (28.4%) and Oudtshoorn (15.0%) had a better “awareness” of the programme. In Beaufort West 9.1% youth used the programme and 8.4% said the programme had a “positive effect”. All the other areas recorded awareness of below ten percent and utilisation of 2.5% and less.

The **Wheelie Wagon Programme** as indicated below deals with mobile libraries. Only 3.8% had knowledge of the programme and only .8% used this programme. The area once again was Beaufort West (11.3%) which had the most “awareness”. The rest of the areas rated their knowledge of the programme under 5 percent. Oudtshoorn (1.6%) recorded the most frequent response on utilisation.

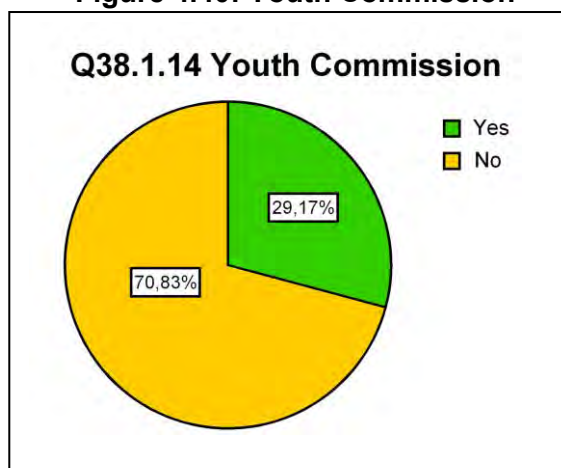
Figure 4.39: Wheelie Wagon



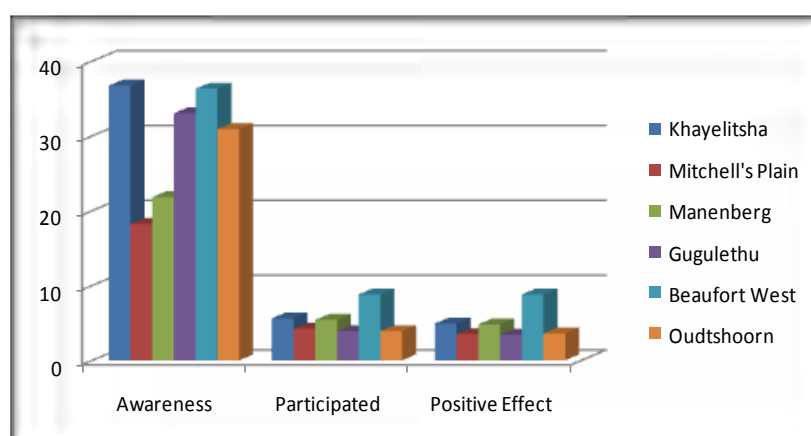
Source: Survey data

The **Youth Commission** had an “awareness” rate of 29.1% but a participation rate of only 5.0%. Khayelitsha (36.7%), Beaufort West (36.3%), Gugulethu (33.0%) and Oudtshoorn (30.9%) all rated their knowledge of the programme in the thirty percent decile. Manenberg (21.8%) and Mitchell's Plain (18.2%) rated their knowledge with a lower response. The participation rates ranged from 8.8% for Beaufort West to 3.9% for both Gugulethu and Oudtshoorn. Beaufort West (8.8%) youth had a “positive effect”, while the other areas rated their “positive effect” closely to their participation rate.

Figure 4.40: Youth Commission

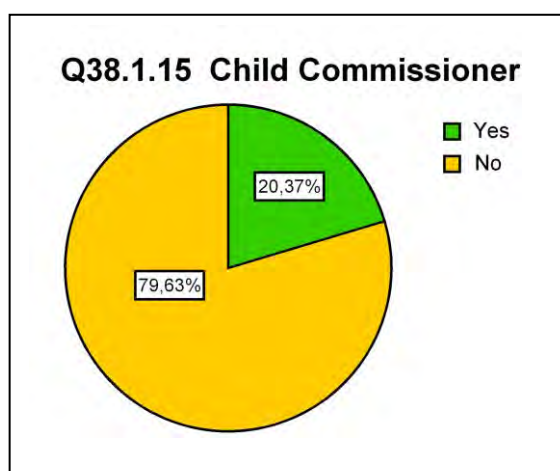


Source: Survey data



The **Children's Commissioner** is linked to the justice system, particularly in cases where children's issues has to be decided. The respondents rated their "awareness" of this commissioner at 20.3%. The participants of this formal children's court process realised a frequency of 2.6%. Beaufort West (30.6%), Khayelitsha (23.9%), Gugulethu (22.0%) and Oudtshoorn (20.5%) rated the following levels of awareness. Manenberg (17.1%) and Mitchell's Plain (14.7%) were less aware of the existence of the children's commissioner, Beaufort West (8.1%) was part of a children's dialogue process and therefore also reported a "positive effect" of 7.5%. The other areas indicated levels of involvement between 0.7% and 3.3%. They also indicated the "positive effect" ranging from 0.5% and 3%.

Figure 4.41: Children's Commissioner



Source: Survey data

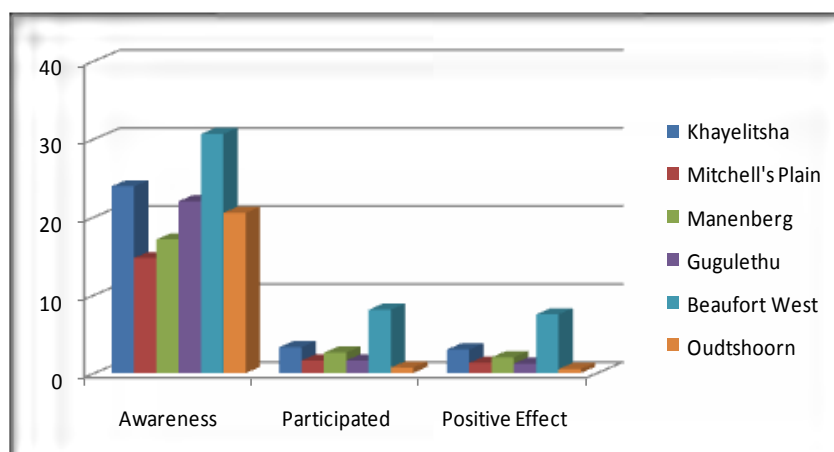
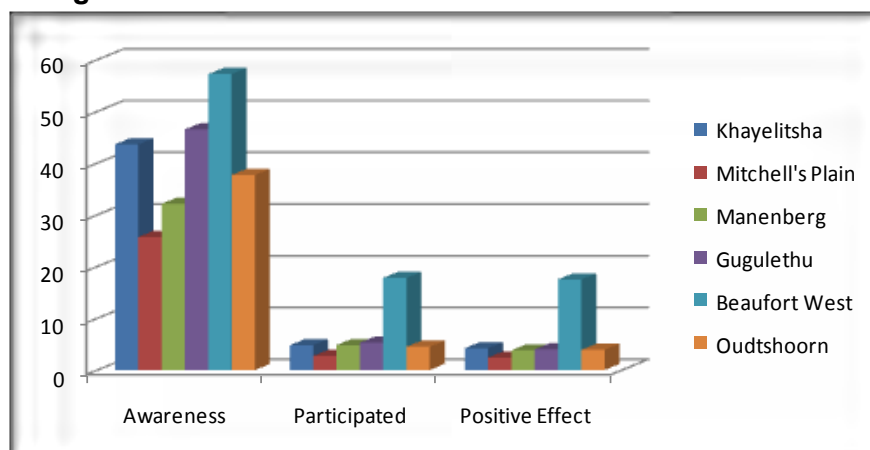


Table 4.35 and Figure 4.42: Human Rights Commission

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	455	4,6
No	3270	32,9
Total	3725	37,5
Were not aware of initiative	6207	62,5
Total	9932	100,0

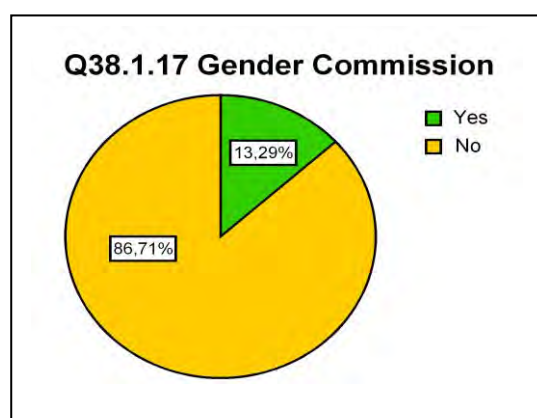
Source: Survey data



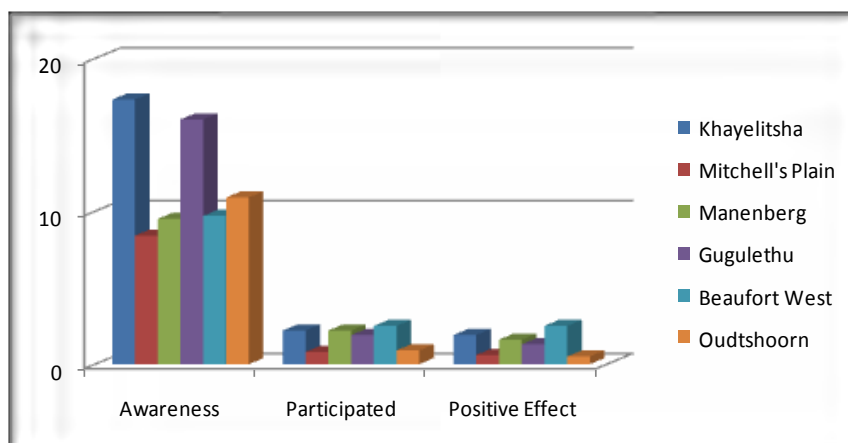
With regard to the **Human Rights Commission**, 37.5% of the youth interviewed said they were aware of the commission, only 4.6% had interacted with this government resource.

Within the above (37.5%), Gugulethu (46.5%) and Khayelitsha (43.6%) gave a high “awareness” rate. Oudtshoorn (37.7%), Manenberg (32.1%) and Mitchell’s Plain (25.7%) were less aware of this resource. Beaufort West reported the highest engagement rate of 17.8% and the highest “positive impact” of 17.5%. For the rest of the areas the engagement and the “positive effect” followed a similar trend between 2.4% and 5.5%.

Figure 4.43: Gender Commission



Source: Survey data

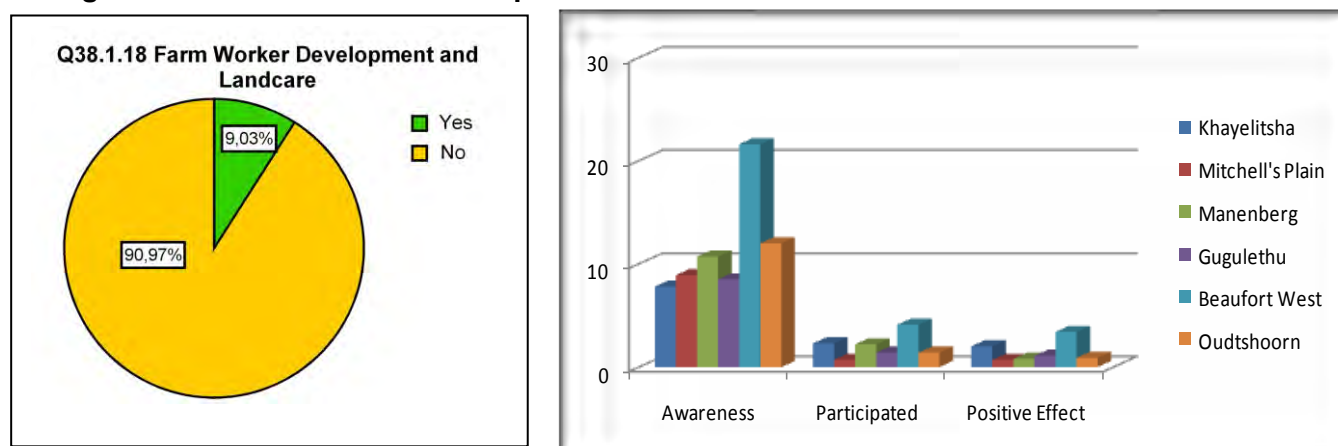


The **Gender Commission** had a 13.2% awareness rate. With a low utilisation of 1.7% which raises concern as gender based violence in these communities is quite high. Khayelitsha (17.3%), Gugulethu (16.0%) and Oudtshoorn (10.9%) rated their “awareness” above the 10 percent decile.

Manenberg (9.5%), Beaufort West (9.7%) and Mitchell's Plain (8.4%) had a lesser "awareness" of under ten percent rating. Beaufort West indicated a utilisation rate and "positive effect" rate of 2.5%. The other area had an utilisation and positive effect rate of 2.2% to 0.5%.

The **Farm Worker Development and Land Care Programme** had an "awareness" rate of 9.03% and a utilisation rate of 1.7%. Beaufort West (21.6%) had the highest "awareness" rate of the areas, with a utilisation rate of 4.1% and a "positive effect" rate of 3.4%. The rest of the areas rated their "awareness" in 2 deciles, above and below ten percent: Oudtshoorn (12.0%) and Manenberg (10.7%). There was an under ten percent awareness rating given by: Mitchell's Plain (8.9%), Gugulethu (8.5%) and Khayelitsha (7.8%). The utilisation rate and the "positive effect" for the other areas were between 0.7 and 2.3%.

Figure 4.44: Farm Worker Development and Land Care



Source: Survey data

The final question in this thematic research sub-question yielded findings on whether the youth had a trusted person to discuss their future with 86.6% across the province said yes. Parents (56.1%), relatives (20.4%) and friends (14.6%) were rated, at 90% of the responses re-enforcing bonding social capital stock. In enquiring what type of information would assist youth in making changes about their future plans, they responded with 3 key options for assistance, information on education or training opportunities (39%), career information (37.5%), and information on funding and training opportunities (17.8%).

4.7.1 ANALYSIS OF THEMATIC RESEARCH SUB-QUESTION FIVE

The fifth research sub-question looked at the gaps and the opportunities youth have. This section focused on the experiences youth had, particularly with the public sector as the basis for linking social capital. In assessing youth opportunities, the question was posed in terms of the different sources that could assist in making their job search more successful. Options included more careers advertising in career centres and local newspapers, career counselling at school and individual assistance. The responses rated with most frequency were more advertisements in local newspapers (53.4%) and in career centres (23.6%). Individual assistance (10.6%) and career counselling at schools (5.8%) drew a lower frequency rate of responses.

In an attempt at making their job search more successful, government should focus on making the job finder more accessible by funding an insert paid for by government using media as a vehicle to make employment information accessible. The youth, particularly in Khayelitsha (65.3%) and Oudtshoorn (54.5%) needed more access to advertisements in the media. This would increase the accessibility of the availability of this resource. The other areas emphasised both media advertisements and career centres being better resourced. The high rate of unemployment and jobs remains a great challenge to the youth in all areas. This had created despondence amongst the youth. The central tenet of poverty is its intergenerational nature impacting children and youth. Households in these six communities are in the vicious cycle of poverty. Parents manage to send their children to school under trying conditions. Their children complete matric but as the jobless growth continues they are then unemployed. As young adults they then continue to live at home placing more strain on limited resources. Insufficient opportunities, lack of appropriate subject choices and lack of social networks exacerbates the situation for the youth. All these impact the Communitarian, Networks, Institutional and Synergy perspectives.

It was clear that when asked whether the youth were doing the same work as a family member and it assisted them to find their job, only 27.7% agreed. The majority of those working 72.3% obviously had to use other means to find employment. This speaks to poor bonding social capital as it refers to family not having the valuable networks or experience to assist their young relatives in getting employment. Family and friends have to assist the youth to find work but that form of connectivity is not available in these poor communities in this study. This indicates low bridging and linking social capital.

Bonding and bridging social capital operates in more complex ways later in educational transitions. It is assumed that youth in middle class communities tap on their parents' social capital networks to facilitate their transitions from school to tertiary education or to gain employment (Holland, 2006, 2008; Henderson et al, 2007). In poor communities evidenced in this research that was not the case. The Magruder (2007) study did not support the Strathdee (2001) study instead their study found that fathers' networks facilitated construction jobs for their sons. This study only found limited support for family facilitation to employment, as there were more single mothers as parents in this study. The Magruder study also found that mothers' networks in South Africa did not facilitate jobs for their children. This study did not delve further into the strengths or weaknesses of specific parent networks. This could be a subject for further research.

Approximately 31.6% of the respondents were looking for jobs. The youth require more training opportunities. It is not government's responsibility alone. Government's response has been learnerships, internships and the Expanded Public Works Programme.

Jobson (2011) cited the two programmes that have shown some success, the EPWP programme (state initiated and funded) and Love Life's groundbreakers programme (NGO funded by government). Both are a year-long programme. One in government to offer youth work exposure as indicated in Chapter 2 and the other exposes youth to peer counselling, HIV/Aids Awareness and support to effected persons in community. The latter reported that 60% of their volunteers on stipends acquired employment more easily as a result of their exposure and training.

The youth in this survey have expressed themselves on interventions of how the gaps to support their job search can be filled. If these interventions are heeded by government it would be the building block for stock formation, in this instance, linking social capital. More importantly if government works in concert with other organisations, synergy would happen which will culminate in positive social capital necessary for sustainable development.

In response to the question of why youth were not looking for employment, the lack of jobs (7.0%), too busy at home (4.6%) and too expensive to look for work (2.6%) was rated most frequently. Beaufort West (12.9%) rated the lack of jobs with the highest frequency while Oudtshoorn (6.9%) rated too busy at home with its highest rating frequency.

As a result of poverty and unemployment, the youth responded that their households were supporting relatives who were not part of their households (28.7%) and these poor youth

households were also being supported by persons not in the household (17.0%). This evidenced the reciprocity, particularly familial bonding social capital (72.5%) because family being supported was highly rated and a family member (83.0%) supporting the household the youth live in received a rating in the 80 percent decile.

Beaufort West (42.2%) and Manenberg (35.9%) were in the moderate stock level of familial bonding social capital where households stretched their meagre resources which further had to be shared, resulting in youth opportunities becoming limited. Public service interventions are therefore sought to assist poor youth and their families in promoting their development. This form of enabling public sector intervention needs to provide bursaries as agreed upon by civil society and labour in the National Youth Accord signed in Soweto in April 2013. The youth wage subsidy embodied in the Employment Tax Incentive Act needs to be finalised (SONA, 2014).

Minimum food security programmes beyond social assistance specifically the Child Support Grant (CSG), should be considered for poor families including youth. In the past 10 years, what was defined as child headed households have now become youth headed households who need support. One option is to extend the CSG beyond 18 years to 21 years to youth still in an education institution. This is still part of the new policy discussions (DSD, 2014).

There was 20% more female than male youth in this study yet in responding to the job search question, a small margin (2.8%) of young women (29.3%) looking for work compared to their male (26.7%) counterparts.

In rating social and leisure facilities in their areas, youth responded with the highest frequency being “average” (39.9%) and the second highest being “poor” (24.7%) within the 36.7% unfavourable rating (Table 4.27).

Youth should have the opportunity to build bridging and linking social capital networks to strengthen the Network perspective. Sport and leisure activities would provide a good network space dependant on the conditions of the facilities. The youth were asked to rate their social and leisure activities in their areas.

The moderate linking social capital stock through these social and leisure activities were rated by the respondents in Mitchell’s Plain (43.9%). Khayelitsha (40.8%), Gugulethu (36.4%) and Manenberg (32.0%) demonstrated low linking social capital stock by giving these facilities an average rating. Beaufort West (28.4) rated their facilities as very poor and

Oudtshoorn (30.5%) as poor further demonstrating low stock of linking social capital, of these rural areas, one nodal and one non-nodal.

Enfield (2008) supports Putnam's (2000) view that state infrastructure and open safe spaces for youth to interact is more important than previously anticipated in ensuring healthy and sustainable youth development.

Labonte (1999) criticises that if government is merely using social capital as rhetoric to replace community development it will fail if it is merely seen to increase economic growth but being a poor substitute for providing adequate infrastructure.

The researcher, based on the information gathered from the discussion groups posed issues that had an impact on the lives of youth, for example, gangs, drinking clubs, game shops and corner boys.

In addressing particularly the negative impact and how it could be reduced, the respondents provided solutions in the open ended question with a view to increasing the stock of linking social capital. The youth across the six areas suggested the following: creating more jobs, better policing and the closure of shebeens, youth development centres to be established, sports centres and youth programmes which are relevant to be implemented. The public sector therefore has the opportunity based on youth inputs to nominate programmes in poor communities which could build particularly, bridging and linking social capital.

Youth confirmed that SABC, radio and newspapers, are the main sources from which they get government information. This response needs to guide the public sector in youth appropriate information dissemination. The use of modern technology should also be used by the public sector, SMS, BBM, MMS, Twitter and other social networks. The public sector is charged with the responsibility to ensure access to all citizens through communication strategies linked to all its programmes. The National Youth Development Agency should on a quarterly basis inform youth of funding opportunities for training and small business development initiatives, market all youth programmes and employment opportunities, as well as build provincial networks and institutions specifically for the youth.

In the literature, under turnout, newspaper readership and membership of choirs and football clubs are broader measures, beyond family structure and church attendance of social cohesion. Focus should be on local organisations (micro level) because national

organisations (macro level) are considered hierarchical and bureaucratic and do not generate much social capital (Pope, 2003; World Bank, 2000).

In order for linking social capital stock to increase for the youth so that opportunities, goals and aspirations can be met, there needs to be trust between public sector officials and the youth.

Youth and community adult relationships are developed as a result of participation in organisations. These organisations have to have structured youth programmes; it has to be well planned and thought through by youth professionals. These adult professionals will provide information, assistance, exposure to the adult world, support and management to ensure the facilitation and development of youth social capital (Putnam, 2000; Jarett et al, 2000).

The indicator to measure linking social capital as a result of the impact of government intervention is to institutionalise effectiveness as described in the Institutional perspective. Bureaucracies demonstrate administrative capacity to undertake functions that provide basic human services, health, education, law and order, social welfare, transportation and physical infrastructure such as water supply and sanitation.

Kotze (2000) says that there is growing state incapacity in South Africa according to a study conducted; that service quality and the lack of technical skills impedes quality basic service delivery. There appears to be negative undertones in this statement inferring a lack of confidence that the necessary skills will be procured in order to address the response to the skills flight in 1994 at the dawn of democracy.

In poor communities and poor countries, weak civic and democratic institutions need to be strengthened using the people's voice to ensure bottom-up development as required for the synergy perspective of social capital to be realised. This was seen recently in youth campaigns where common purpose was pursued as a result of all stakeholders being informed and included in the #FeesMustFall campaign. This lays the basis for government reforms to form social capital; to strengthen the technical capacity to engage communities, businesses and community organisations to facilitate the work with government. In certain key functions, government cannot consult for fear of undermining the safety and security of the country. To play a catalytic role, there has to be an undergirding of internal social capital to collaborate so that networks can be formed by including multiple agencies, departments,

community groups and non-profit organisations which need to work in concert bound by trust and reciprocity to form collective action around a common purpose agenda for development. Khayelitsha displayed the most trust in the public sector officials, resulting in moderate stock of linking social capital in the "a lot" category. Local municipal officials were rated in the "a lot" trust element, at 32% and there was "no trust at all" for politicians at 29.8%. Khayelitsha rated their trust of local municipal officials at 29.1% in the "a little" category and the politicians in the "not at all" category at 27.9%. Khayelitsha youth also rated the services and the staff at government departments as having moderately good linking social capital stock. Their average department was community safety and the departments they had the least contact with, was environmental affairs and land affairs. In terms of staff performing the services, the police and community workers were rated as average.

Bridging and linking relationships develop between groups and other organisations, unlike bonding, which takes place within the group to facilitate interaction and collective action. The external relationships in the Institutional perspective stimulate linking social capital as a result of third parties, either NPOs or government. The strength and quality of this type of social capital has to be inclusive to reach the levels required to embed itself in the Synergy perspective.

The role of municipal governance is to help build local negotiating capacity and linkages in community. This strategy fosters the democratic realisation which builds on existing social resources based on finding common purpose incentives. The key is to simultaneously strengthen internal capacity and external forging effective links to ensure achievement of community goals. This action finds its resonance in the Synergy perspective which is not being evidenced in this study as a lack of trust exists between the youth community and local government officials.

If government officials' activities are transparent, lack bribery and instil confidence because officials embrace our constitutional human rights perspective, this will result in the youth gaining more trust and confidence in working with government officials. Their perceptions will change from antagonists to allies. These relationships will benefit youth with opportunities as a result of internal social capital such as advice, job offers, scholarships, speaking engagements and internships (Enfield, 2008; Saguaro Group, 2001; Putnam, 1995, 2000; Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2001).

Mitchell's Plain recorded a moderate stock of linking social capital stock with regard to trust of government officials in the category "a little". Social workers (53.7%), Educators (43.0%)

received a high rating of “a lot” of trust while politicians (31.2%) were not trusted at all. The services of government departments and their staff were also rated to have moderate stock of linking social capital under the “average” element for Mitchell’s Plain respondents.

Manenberg rated the trust between youth and public sector staff with moderate stock of linking social capital in the “a little” trust element. A higher level rating of moderate stock was rated for social workers (57.5%), educators (50.8%) and health workers (39.1%). The politicians were rated as having no trust at all. In respect of public sector services and staff performing these services, low stock of linking social capital was rated under the “good” and “average” elements for youth respondents in Manenberg.

Gugulethu also rated a moderate stock of linking social capital in respect of trust for social workers (70.9%), educators (62.9%) and health workers (36.3%). The other public sector workers were rated the “a little” category, with low stock and politicians also had low stock under no trust at all category. Gugulethu also rated moderate linking social capital stock in government services and staff excepting for the department of local government (23.9%) and housing and their staff (23.3%) who had a low stock.

Beaufort West demonstrated moderate stock of linking social capital with regard to trust for educators (57.2%), social workers (55.3%), health workers (45.9%) and court officials (35.6%). The rest of the officials represented low stock and politicians “not at all” in the low stock category. Beaufort West rated public sector programmes in the moderate linking social capital stock under the elements “good” and “average”. All the officials rendering the service were rated with the levels of moderate social capital stock under the “good” service category.

Oudtshoorn with regards to trust, followed the Gugulethu and Manenberg trend with educators (59.5%), social workers (56.4%) and health staff (43.9%) having a lot of trust creating a moderate stock of linking social capital. The rest of the public sector official’s trust levels were low in the “a little” category. The youth did not trust politicians at all, thus rating it at 31.8%. The programmes and staff presenting these programmes were rated with moderate stock of linking social capital under “good” and “average”.

Andrews (2011) comments that social capital is dependent on the quality of the public service as well as the strength and stability of political institutions. This survey evidenced very little trust in politicians. Further studies should be explored beyond just voting in elections.

Health workers had a good score of “a lot” 40.7% on the issue of youth trust. Oudtshoorn (50.5%), Beaufort West (49.1%), Gugulethu (44.9%), Mitchell’s Plain (38.8%), Khayelitsha (40.3%), Manenberg (37.7%). The health department scored a moderate linking social capital on “good” (40.8%).

In rating Social Development and its staff – Oudtshoorn and Beaufort West gave the highest good rating of over 50%, resulting in moderate linking social capital. Gugulethu gave a “good” rating of over 45%. Khayelitsha, Mitchell’s Plain and Manenberg rated their “good” category at just over the 40% decile. The average linking social capital stock therefore is moderate for the department and staff of Social Development in the “good” category.

Education and its staff had it highest score from Beaufort West youth with a rating of over 55% for “good” category. Oudtshoorn, Gugulethu, Manenberg and Mitchell’s Plain all scored over 48% for the staff of Education and over 45% for the department in the „good” category. Khayelitsha scored over 40% for both department and staff of the education department. The department and staff achieved moderate linking social capital.

Department of Justice had the highest “good” rating from Beaufort West at 39%, Oudtshoorn, Gugulethu and Khayelitsha at 35%, Manenberg 30% and Mitchell’s Plain 29% at over 20% resulting in low linking social capital.

Home Affairs department was rated “good” by Beaufort West at 50%. Gugulethu and Khayelitsha rated the “good” category over 40%. Mitchell’s Plain rated it at 27%. The average is 38% for good service representing moderate linking social capital.

SAPS scored a 35% from Beaufort West as good. Oudtshoorn scored 30%. Khayelitsha and Manenberg rated it 25% and Mitchell’s Plain 22%. The average “good” score was 28% representing low linking social capital.

Community Safety scored “good” for Beaufort West and Gugulethu over 35% for the staff. Khayelitsha rated over 30% for the staff. Mitchell’s Plain and Manenberg scored 30% for the staff. Oudtshoorn scored over 25% for staff signifying a higher score than the department which had 30% average for the “average” and the staff get 32% for the “good” category.

The Department of Housing and Local Government scored 38% as its highest on average service for municipalities, housing and community development, so low linking social capital in the “average” range.

In summary, youth rated the following departments and staff, Health, Social Development, Education and Home Affairs in the “good” category with moderate linking social capital.

If there is non-delivery of education, health, social protection, safety and security and housing, alternative means are devised to survive. The alternative means rely on informal social networks, cajoling public sector officials, using connections to bend the rules and paying bribes that break the rules. These alternatives become normative responses to a weak government response to youth needs. These informal networks are not as a result of popular demand but a survival mechanism to cope with a dysfunctional state where officials at all levels are implicated. The immediate need is not to change the values and the attitudes of the citizens but to change the way government responds and educates the citizens to use the proper channels. Systems have to be changed to enable access without fraudulent practices of the officials (Woolcock, 1998; Wallis & Dollery, 2001; Productivity Commission, 2003; Andrews, 2011).

Transformed government officials will engender trust, confidence and have a reputation for financial probity. These officials will also have to exercise democratic leadership skills to bring in the excluded, conflicting groups together in a way that fosters social cohesion. (Wallis & Dollery, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2001; Putnam, 2000; Kotze, 2000; Baker 1999)

The following departments in the Justice cluster, Justice, SAPS and Community Safety had slight variations between staff and the departments.

So the rating for these departments and the staff were low “good” linking social capital and low “average” linking social capital.

The Department of Local Government and Housing for municipalities, housing and community workers highest rating came in the moderate “average” linking social capital.

Integrity without synergy in government infers too much integrity as a result of too much bureaucracy and too little civil society interaction and consultation is unproductive to produce social capital (Woolcock, 1998; Hopkins, 2002).

Good policies representing high organisational integrity but poorly co-ordinated across different departments in its implementation will resonate some linkages (institutional) but low synergy. If a government plans with indifference or a lack of well thought out processes to address the plight of poor and vulnerable groups, in this context, the youth, it is considered

unresponsive to the citizens' needs. In the developmental state, the top-down and bottom-up combinations in programme design, planning and implementation needs to converge to culminate in synergy.

For the above to happen, multiple forms of social relations are present simultaneously. Both beneficiaries and staff officials must be aware from the outset that their joint task is to draw on existing strengths to construct any "missing" dimensions of social capital, not just to overcome present dilemmas, because the very success of the programme will change the circumstances that made it necessary and possible to intervene in the first place.

The state capacity must be distinguished by

- 1) Policy capacity which is mandated by the ruling party in government (ANC)
- 2) The ability to structure the decision-making process, co-ordinate it throughout government and feed-back analysis into the system (government structure – the cabinet)
- 3) The implementation authority (the Minister) needs to have the ability to carry out decisions and enforce rules, within the public sector itself and the broader society
- 4) The bureaucracy to ensure "operational efficiency" by having the ability to deliver efficient and effective quality service.

In order to build linking social capital access, staff attitude of government officials and quality of services will require significant change according to the youth. In further unpacking the youth's knowledge of government's programmes for which the highest awareness rating was for school governing bodies and learner representative councils. The community safety department programme, Bambanani, was rated the third highest frequency in terms of awareness and programme utilisation. The reason for this is that it created a limited employment with a stipend for youth in these poor areas. Internships, learnerships and the expanded public works programme (EPWP) were the following highest rated programmes in terms of awareness and utilisation.

The last of the top five public sector programmes was the human rights commission. 37.5% Of the youth were aware of the role of the human rights commission in addressing issues related to racism and unfair treatment. The youth commission however was only known to about 27.4% of the respondents. Yet this government intervention was planned and implemented nationally and provincially as the voice of the youth.

In critically examining these programmes in further detail, the following emerged. As earlier stated before the massification of these programmes could take place the province has to evaluate whether these programmes were correctly targeted and made the intended impact. The provincial government spent R125.1 million on the programmes linked to youth in 2005/06 (Budlender et al, 2008), excluding the justice spend on child commissioners of R16 million. The health department's programme, community based care workers demonstrated low levels of "awareness" (29.3%), utilisation was under ten percent and impact was recorded to be an under 5.5% rating. The stark realisation at the time of the research was that youth in Khayelitsha, Gugulethu and Beaufort West were experiencing the devastating effects of young people dying of Aids. The researcher is of the opinion due to the stigma attached to this disease the service was not being used adequately despite the need. The programme falls in the PGWC (Provincial Government of the Western Cape) Health budget under the central hospital services budget addressing HIV, STI and TB amongst youth at a cost of R 2.5 billion. The programme costs for Home Based Care was R36 million in the 2010/11 financial year and showed a decline in the 2012/13 financial year of R8 million totalling a budget of R 28.4 million (PGWC: Audit Report, 2011; PGWC Budget Statement, 2012/13).

Educational institutions do not just simply transmit human capital, they also provide social capital in the form of social rules and norms (Coleman, 1988; Productivity Commission, 2003).

The Education Department's two programmes, School Governing Bodies (75.8%) and Learner Representative Councils (60.1%) had a high "awareness" rating as 47% of the respondents were scholars. The budget was R3 million in 2005/06 financial year. This budget has drastically declined to R250 000 for SGBs and R166 000 for LRCs. The decline would require more research as it is not clarified in the budget statement of the province for the 2012/13 financial year (PGWC Budget Statement, 2010/11, 2012/13).

The Department of Transport and Public Works programme, the Expanded Public Work Programme (EPWP) had an 82.7% awareness rate and a rural utilisation rate in the two rural areas of Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn of 36.9% and 11.8% respectively. Beaufort West was declared a nodal area and being rural it had the highest unemployment and grant dependency rate in the Western Cape Province. The utilisation rate was more apparent than the other areas as a result of the impact of the government's investment in the nodal areas through the Integrated Strategic Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) appears to have had some returns on investment however limited. The Khayelitsha nodal area also indicated

higher “awareness” together with Gugulethu for the “awareness” but it did not have the commensurate utilisation rate as did Beaufort West. The budget for this programme was R54 million in the financial year 2005/06 and it was R22.7 million for 2010/11 financial year as it appears in PGWC Audit Report (2011). It would appear from the appropriation statements for 2012/13 that an allocation for this specific programme was not made as it was previously dependent on conditional grants from the national government.

The District Transformation Councils of the Department of Social Development had a low “awareness” rating of 10.1% and an under 3% rate for utilisation. These structures were supposed to advocate gaps in youth services in vulnerable communities. This budget was R5.2 million in 2005/06 financial year and a steep decline was reported for youth development in the 2010/11 financial year and a further decline to R24 000 in the 2012/13 financial year (PGWC Budget Statement, 2010/11, 2012/13).

The Job Seekers Centre programme and the RED Door had an “awareness” rating of 26.4% and 8.9%. The youth unemployment figure in the Western Cape according to the PGWC was 79.9% (PGWC: Audit Report on Women, Youth, Disability and Children Programmes, 2011). It is therefore of critical importance that any programme that assists youth in finding a job or starting a business should be accessible to all youth. These findings tell a sad story of a lack of appropriate communication to assist vulnerable youth. The areas in this study demonstrated the poorest communities and to a larger extent informal communities like Khayelitsha which had the largest number of respondents in this study. The budget for this programme for the job seekers centres was R6.2 million and RED Door was R1.9 million in the 2005/06 financial year. Currently it would appear from the budget statement that these programmes have been replaced with a skills development and innovation programme at a cost of R13.5 million. This amount is further increased in the 2012/13 financial year to R25.1 million (PGWC Budget Statement, 2012/13).

The Internship and Learnership programme was co-ordinated by the Department of the Premier. The “awareness” of this programme was 42% largely driven by Gugulethu (61.7%) and Khayelitsha (46.6%) but utilisation was under 15%. In the 2005/06 financial year, there were 500 internship opportunities and 800 learnerships. The findings further indicate that youth from Gugulethu and Beaufort West benefitted more than the other areas. Khayelitsha (46.6%) had more awareness of the programme than Beaufort West (30%), both nodal areas. But Beaufort West (15.6%) had more participation than Khayelitsha (8%).

The Youth Commission was specifically established to respond to the youth challenges at a national and provincial level. Commissioners were appointed from across the province. The expectation was continuous dialogues with youth at all levels and all formations. A youth status report and a strategy was the expected outcome after the first 3 years of establishment. The 29.1% “awareness” is a direct response of youth to a lack of access diminishing their opportunity to build linking social capital. Access was vested in facilitation, mobilisation and youth communication which is in this instance a key area for intervention. Instead this programme was disbanded by February 2011 (PGWC: Audit Report, 2011 - 2012).

The youth concerns in this study addressed questions of gender and the human rights as embraced in the South African Constitution of 1996. Yet only 37.5% of the respondents were aware of the Human Rights Commission and 13.2% of the Gender Commission. On a national and provincial government level more will have to be done to increase the opportunity for youth to engage these networks to ensure the formation of linking social capital. The budget in the 2005/06 financial year was R7.7 million for the human rights component. Ongoing funding could not be traced by the researcher in the reading of the financial statements for either 2010/11 or 2012/13 (PGWC Budget Statement, 2010/11, 2012/13).

The Department of Community Safety had Bambanani volunteers who were paid a stipend when called to work at events, in communities when there was civil unrest requiring community outreach programmes. Gugulethu (65.1%) had the most knowledge of this programme together with Oudtshoorn (60.2%) but the nodal area of Beaufort West (15.3%) had the most Bambanani volunteers. This can also be as a result of the nodal status given to Beaufort West. The budget for this programme was R7.8 million in the 2005/06 financial year. This budget has increased to R10.1 million in 2010/11 financial year and R11.3 million in the 2012/13 however from the budget statement for 2010/11 this department budgeted two amounts for youth programmes of R6.9 million organising workshops on road safety life skills and providing a course culminating in a written test on road rules and R33.9 million for the running of Chrysalis Academy which implements youth diversion programmes for youth formally involved in gangs and substance abuse (PGWC Budget Statement, 2010/11, 2012/13).

The Community Development Workers programme in the Department of Local Government and Housing should have presented youth with the greatest opportunity to access government’s programmes. This access would have laid the foundation for linking social

capital which was supposed to improve the quality of life of youth and the community at large.

The democratic South African government made a decision to employ community development workers at the Department of Local Government and Housing at the provincial level. Wallis and Dollery (2001) says the provision of community development workers is a critical source of social capital to develop as they provide skills and knowledge of government programmes to communities and community organisations. Community development workers had previously been the domain of the not-for-profit organisations (NPOs). In the early years of democracy it emerged that there was a lack of alignment of some of the NPOs with the government agenda.

This survey reflected an “awareness” of 23.5% for this programme amongst the youth. Beaufort West had the highest rating for being aware of the programme and using the programme whilst “awareness” was in the over 20% range was for Gugulethu, Khayelitsha and Manenberg. This programme had a R10 million budget in the 2005/06 financial year. The 2010/11 financial year indicates a decline to R3.5 million and a further decline to R3.2 million in the 2012/13 financial year. Further research should be conducted to understand the decline (PGWC Budget Statement, 2010/11, 2012/13).

The two youth sport programmes Siyadlala Mass Participation Programme and Sport Stepping Stones Programme of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport had worrying responses. Beaufort West benefitted the most from the Siyadlala Mass Participation Programme, while Manenberg benefitted the most from the Sport Stepping Stones programme followed by Beaufort West and Mitchell’s Plain also benefiting. Sport is a critical factor in maintaining a balanced life for the youth. In poor communities this is one of the avenues for breaking out of poverty. This type of linking social capital is critical to the youth. It also establishes role models if talent is identified and nurtured. The “awareness” levels and utilisation was low 10.8% for Sport Stepping Stones and 74% for the Siyadlala Mass Participation Programme. The department should focus its interventions in the poorest areas. This low awareness and utilisation requires an aggressive marketing and communications strategy. The budget of these programmes was R4.2 million for Siyadlala Mass Participation Programme and R12 million for Sport Stepping Stones in the 2005/06 financial year. In the 2010/11 financial year it would appear from the financial statements that these programmes has been combined totalling R40.4 million and the budget increased the 2012/13 financial year to R44.6 million (PGWC Budget Statement, 2010/11, 2012/13).

This department also provided library services to the youth to extend this programme to poor and rural areas where mobile libraries are utilised. Governments should continue to maintain free services to the poor in disadvantaged communities (OECD, 2001; Productivity Commission, 2003). Only 3.8% of the respondents were aware of the programme with low utilisation. Beaufort West demonstrated the highest “awareness” at 11.3% without the commensurate level of utilisation which was very low, at 1%. The cost of this programme was R12 million in 2005/06 financial year and in the 2010/11 financial year it decreased to R11.6 million (PGWC Budget Statement, 2010/11, 2012/13).

Agriculture in the province funds the Framework Development and Land Care Programme for youth. This programme only had a 9% “awareness” with Beaufort West having more “awareness” than other areas and utilisation rate of 5%. The Western Cape peri urban and rural youth should receive more information about this type of programme because the opportunities for training, exists and incubation leading to employment is part of this programme. This programme cost R10.1 million in 2005/06 financial year. From the researcher’s reading of the budget statement this programme has been replaced by an EPWP conditional grant of R4 million in the 2012/13 financial year (PGWC Budget Statement, 2012/13).

As many youth in the areas in this survey were familiar with incidences of parents dying due to disease and abandonment of children, 20.3% had knowledge of the Children’s Commissioner. Beaufort West and Khayelitsha, both nodal areas had higher levels of “awareness” and higher participation rates. This situation bears correlation to the number of youth residing with grandparents and family members, not necessarily their biological parents. This programme costs the Justice Department in the Western Cape R16 million in 2005/06 financial year. The budget for the 2012/13 financial year has escalated to R27 million (Annual Reports, Department of Justice, 2005/06 and 2013/14).

The analysis of these critical programmes that government presents across the country and specifically in the Western Cape demonstrated deficiencies in service delivery. The social sector budget for example, Education, Health, Social Development, Local Government and Housing, is more than two thirds of the entire budget. When the justice cluster departments, SAPS, Community Safety and Justice is added it easily brings expenditure that impacts society fundamentally and in this instance, youth, to almost 90%. Better targeting of government’s resources will be required in order to establish stock of linking social capital.

The South African Government has good youth policies but poor implementation structures, and an inability to get government departments to introduce relevant programmes. The draft National Youth Policy (2014 – 2019) recommends that programmes should be implemented based on an integrated youth development to foster social cohesion. But this is happening on such a small scale. To address the growing problems of youth, massification of the approach is required. The youth budget is hard to discern in the complex department budgets for programmes. The NYDA gives R50 million in small business loans to youth but there has been very little reporting on whether it is now a sustainable venture or still requiring mentoring and incubation (Presidency, 2014).

The country celebrates its youth history and actualisation in the following way: Youth Day (16/06 annually), Youth Parliament, Youth conferences, but the accusation is that this has become tokenism. A more substantial intervention is required culminating in jobs, better skills and leadership development (Jobson, 2011).

Familial and agapéian bonding social capital remain the key stock of social capital for the youth as sources to achieving future goals. Parents and friends are their key informants. Other sources that would assist them in making the choices, is information and various career options, which was raised by four areas, the second source mentioned was information on education and training opportunities. The third statistically significant source requested by the youth for assistance is information on possible funding.

Government should shed programmes that reduce existing social capital, if it is not able to create programmes that form social capital. Existing social capital in government is keenly focused on education support, community services, sports and arts, communications and essential services. Perverse incentives can damage existing stocks of social capital. Providing free skills training without placements which gives experience and also is beneficial to communities would be the same as giving food without getting citizens to plant their own vegetables.

Social capital is described as facilitating benefits: improved health, better educational outcomes, improved child protection, lower crime rates, reduced tax evasion and improved governmental responsiveness and efficiency. Social capital is also linked to the productivity and other economic indicators (Productivity Commission, 2003).

This survey highlights government's programme relevance, communication weaknesses and a fundamental lack of youth participation in the design of programmes targeting the youth.

It is a clear demonstration that synergy is absent because if all the stakeholders collaborated there would be higher stocks of all social capital types, specifically linking which produces better outcomes for development of the youth to take place.

4.8 FINDINGS FOR THEMATIC RESEARCH SUB-QUESTION SIX

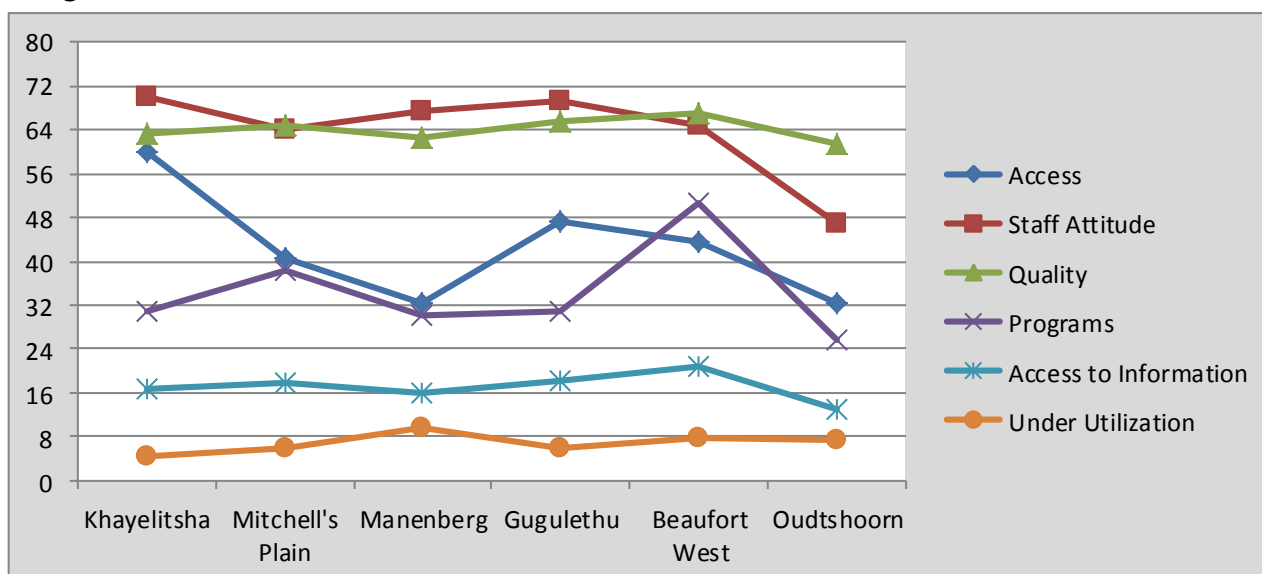
The final research sub-question responds to the gaps identified in the previous section and tests the youth on what the critical needs for change is in order to either build on the existing stock of social capital or develop building blocks for the formation of social capital.

When respondents were asked to indicate the **most urgent issues for change within the service delivery context**, 7 options were offered: accessibility, staff attitude, quality of services, programmes relevant to youths' needs, extent to which public servants can be trusted with personal information, access to information about government and under-utilisation of existing resources.

Access to information about government was raised by 17.1% of the respondents. The extent to which public servants could be trusted with personal information was mentioned by 10.8% of the respondents. Finally, under-utilisation of existing resources raised a 5.4% response.

When disaggregating these service delivery challenges in the areas, the following was evidenced. Khayelitsha (60.0%) raised the issue of accessibility more than any of the other areas. The other areas rated this element in the forty and twenty percent deciles: Gugulethu (47.3%), Beaufort West (43.4%), Mitchell's Plain (40.4%), Manenberg (32.5% and Oudtshoorn (32.3%).

Figure 4.45: ISSUES FOR CHANGE IN PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY



Source: Survey data

A very high rating was given to a need for change of staff attitude with Khayelitsha respondents raising it to 70.2% and the lowest frequency was Oudtshoorn at 47.0% which is also relatively high at almost 50 percent. The rest of the areas were in the sixty percent decile: Gugulethu (69.2%), Manenberg (67.5%), Beaufort West (65.0%) and Mitchell's Plain (64.1%). The staff attitude and access problems are great impediments to social capital formation, particularly linking social capital in poor communities, which should be the target for public sector interventions.

Quality was rated as a problem that government has to urgently address to improve service delivery. Beaufort West (66.9%) raised this significantly accompanied by the other 5 areas which also raised these issues in the sixty percent frequency range: Gugulethu (65.7%), Mitchell's Plain (65.0%), Khayelitsha (63.2%), Manenberg (62.5%) and Oudtshoorn (61.6%).

In addressing the challenge of programmes relevant to youths' needs, this was raised most frequently in Beaufort West (50.6%) and the least frequently in Oudtshoorn (25.7%). The remaining areas were all in the thirty percent decile: Mitchell's Plain (38.4%), Gugulethu (31.0%), Khayelitsha (30.9%) and Manenberg (30.2%).

Trust in relation to the sharing of confidential information with the public sector officials elicited a lower response rate, Manenberg (14.3%), Gugulethu (13.8%), Beaufort West (13.1%), Oudtshoorn (12.0%), Mitchell's Plain (11.4%) and Khayelitsha (9.0%).

Access to government information had a higher response rate from Beaufort West (20.9%) than the other areas: Gugulethu (18.3%), Mitchell's Plain (17.7%), Khayelitsha (16.6%), Manenberg (18.3%) and Oudtshoorn (13.0%). If government embarks on programmes it would be advisable for it to be evidence-based. It also has to be accessible in terms of content and language, so it would benefit the youth, focus groups or discussion groups should be done prior to the inception of programmes. Also regular monitoring and evaluation has to be done so that programmes that are not having the intended impact can be terminated or repackaged.

When the respondents were asked what other services and programmes government should implement or make available to youth, the respondents raised several issues and programmes and below follows the top 12 requests:-

Table No. 4.36: Types of programmes youth need

No.	Service/Programme	No. of Responses	%
1.	Job Creation	2 158	21.7%
2.	Sport Facilities	613	6.2%
3.	Recreational and Related Programmes	513	5.3%
4.	Better access to Bursaries and Loans	507	5.1%
5.	Youth Recreational Facilities	372	3.7%
6.	Better housing for the youth	315	3.2%
7.	Educational related programmes	235	2.4%
8.	Safety and Security: Better Policing	177	1.8%
9.	Learnerships	148	1.5%
10.	Youth Information Centres	141	1.4%
11.	Youth Entertainment Facilities	124	1.4%
12.	Educational Facilities	123	1.2%

Source: Survey data

In this open question youth raised critical issues of jobs, access to tertiary education, better housing, better policing, sport facilities, youth programmes and youth information centres. When youth were asked what type of information would assist them to make choices about their future, the youth responded to the options.

Four options offered were as follows: option 1 referred to information on various career options, Mitchell's Plain (46.0%) and Manenberg (44.8%) rated this option most frequently. The rest of the areas rated this option in the thirty percent decile: Oudtshoorn (38.0%), Gugulethu (37.6%), Beaufort West (32.2%) and Khayelitsha (30.7%).

Khayelitsha (48.1%) and Beaufort West (46.3%) rated as their highest frequency, option 2, information on education/training opportunities which would assist them in making choices about their future. The other areas rated this option in the thirty and twenty percent decile: Oudtshoorn (36.6%), Gugulethu (34.3%), Mitchell's Plain (32.1%) and Manenberg (26.2%).

Some of the youth felt that if funding for education and training opportunities was available it would assist them in making more appropriate career decisions. Gugulethu rated this option with a 21.8% response. The other areas rated this option between 13.2% and 19.6%.

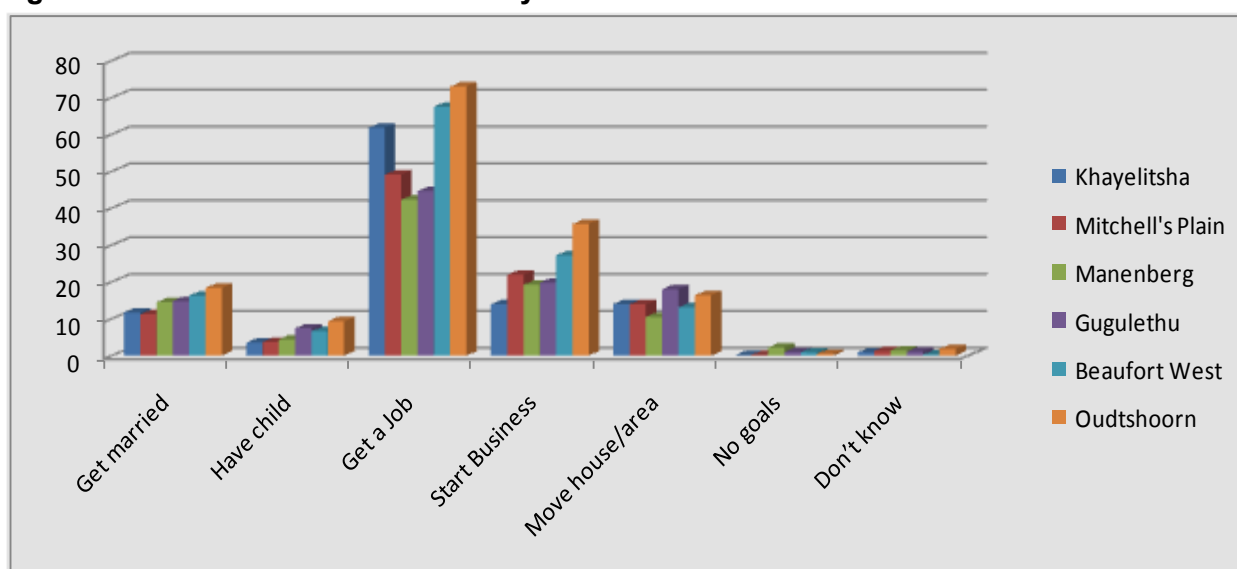
The fourth option was guidance on romantic relationships a low rating of 1.2% to 2.8% was given by the respondents to this option.

The last group of questions dealt with the amount of trust that young people have to achieve their goals and dreams and to change the immediate circumstances that challenge them.

In Question 43 the respondents were asked to indicate what they wanted to achieve in the next five years. Figure 4.46 (shown below) graphically represents youth confidence about achieving their goals.

In responding to what they would like to achieve in the next five years, eleven options were offered. These options were raised in the discussion group process that informed the questionnaire.

Figure 4.46: Achievements for next 5 years



Source: Survey data

The highest rated option by all respondents was to get a job: Oudtshoorn (73.0%), Beaufort West (67.5%) and Khayelitsha (61.8%). The rest of the areas rated this option in the fortieth decile, Mitchell's Plain (49.1%), Gugulethu (44.6%) and Manenberg (42.3%).

The second highest rated option was to attend a tertiary education facility: Mitchell's Plain (36.4%), Beaufort West (37.5%), Manenberg (32.1%) and Khayelitsha (35.0%). Gugulethu and Oudtshoorn both rated this option with 28%.

Complete school was rated quite high bearing in mind that 15 to 18 year olds (45.8%) were still at school in most instances. The responses were in two deciles – thirty percent decile, Khayelitsha (35.9%), Gugulethu (33.0%), Beaufort West (31.9%) and Oudtshoorn (31.8%). Manenberg (28.0%) and Mitchell's Plain (26.0%) were in the twenty percent decile.

The next most rated option was to start their own businesses where the highest ratings were Oudtshoorn (35.7%) and Beaufort West (27.2%). The rest of the areas rated this option between 13% and 21%.

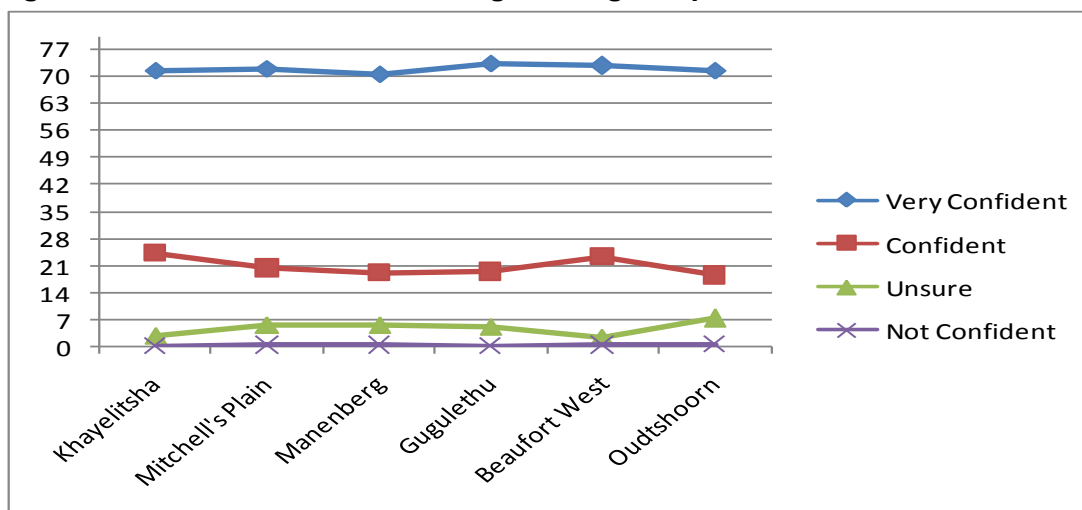
The next two options: get married and move somewhere to start their futures had similar ratings, Oudtshoorn (18.4%) and Gugulethu (18.0%) respectively. The low rating areas were Mitchell's Plain (11.2%) and Manenberg (10.5%) in respect of the two options. One percent and lower was given to leaving school without matric. Having children had a rating of 9.3% in Oudtshoorn to Khayelitsha (3.5%). No goals was rated 2.2% and under.

Table No. 4.37: Confidence in achieving future goals

Options	Frequency	Percent
Very confident	7131	(71,8)
Confident	2179	(21,9)
Unsure	444	(4,5)
Not confident at all	23	(0,2)
Sub-total	9777	(98,4)
Didn't have goals for future	155	(1,6)
Total	9932	(100,0)

Source: Survey data

Figure 4.47: Confidence in achieving future goals per area



Source: Survey data

93.7% Of the youth responded that they were “very confident” (71.8%) or confident (21.9%) of achieving their goals. All areas rated their level of “very confident” in the low seventy percent decile. A further average of 20 percent said they very confident and their unsure rating was 7.3% in Oudtshoorn to 3% in Khayelitsha.

4.8.1 ANALYSIS OF THEMATIC RESEARCH SUB-QUESTION SIX

In response to this research sub-question which requires an articulation of youth needs with regard to changes needed to build their stock of social capital to leverage opportunities to improve their quality of life. What follows then is an analysis of the potential design inputs for future programmes, institutions and networks, embraced in the Networks, Institutional and Synergy perspectives.

Good policies which have high organisational integrity but poorly co-ordinated across different government departments in its implementation, lacks internal social capital and will resonate limited linkages (cohesion) with low synergy. Therefore, the youth needs and demands have to be considered when government plans and implements programmes. Integrity without synergy as a result of too much bureaucratic red tape and too little civil society collaboration and engagement will render these interventions to be unproductive in the formation of social capital (Woolcock, 1998).

Grootaert and van Bastelaer (2001) advocates that horizontal forms of social capital are important to the youth, but without proper vertical articulations the impact of community development efforts are limited. The creation of social capital at the supra-communicable

institution level defined by local organisations within community is beneficial to the welfare of the youth in poor households but it has limited effectiveness. There is more value and opportunities in the second level organisations, the provincial departments that allow the youth to combine forces in obtaining resources and engagement in a dialogue regarding their needs with the next level of government.

When youth responded to the open ended question, what other services and programmes government should implement, the greatest need was for programmes preparing youth for work and work-related programmes. They also felt that government information should be available at comprehensive youth service centres. There was also a need for more training and sport facilities. Youth programmes, life skills and a youth grant for unemployed youth was also emphasised.

The ruling party in government has proposed the extension of the Expanded Public Works Programme, the government infrastructure programme provides for opportunities for training and employment, the focus on Maths and Science schools, as well as the proposed 3 universities with one focussing on science is mooted, making ECD a public good and extending children's education by 2 years, the job seekers grant and the wage subsidy as a potential shift towards dealing with the problem of the growing "youth bulge". It is hoped that the adoption of many of these programmes will lead to the formation of social capital for the youth.

Some of the youth indicated that government employed workers who were much older, who did not understand youth needs demonstrating a lack of internal social capital affecting trust. It was also suggested that youth development workers be appointed to work with the youth, particularly in poor areas. Appropriate youth programmes should also be tested as pilots before rolling it out to all areas. There was also a view expressed for area specific youth needs to be met, requiring the design of relevant programmes to ensure more effective impact of government's interventions.

Structural and attitudinal aspects of social capital such as community organisational life, political engagement and levels of interpersonal trust, constitute a stock of material, cultural and human resources that can potentially be mobilised for public purposes, including the delivery of public services. The accumulation of the stock of social capital is dependent on the attitude of the officials who deliver the service to youth (Andrews, 2011).

The Minister of the Public Service made announcements in 2013 that academic programmes should be intensified to transform the approach to professionalising the public service cadre. The issue should not just be age but appropriate programmes on how to engage the youth in a youth friendly language using modern technology and social networking sites to communicate with the youth (GCIS, 2013).

It is important that government provides youth with an effective enabling environment for social and economic exchanges. It is incumbent on government to play a prominent role in the dissemination of information necessary for youth to make plans, it has to be designed in a youth friendly way whilst it seeks to influence individual perceptions and thereby informing their decisions which over time influence social behaviour based on social norms (OECD, 2001; Productivity Commission, 2003).

When the researcher started the survey in 2006, social networking tools such as Mix-it, face book and twitter were not as popular and used by youth as it became since 2012. When the youth were asked to think about what they would like to achieve in the next five years, the single greatest response was finding a job, this element ranged from Oudtshoorn (73%) to Manenberg (42.3%). Education, both secondary and tertiary was raised as the next highest response in terms of achievement in the next 5 years, either finishing school or going to university. The youth particularly in Oudtshoorn (35.7%) and Beaufort West (27.2%) were very keen to start their own business in the next 5 years.

Finally the youth in all the areas were very confident (70%) that they would achieve their goals. Despite the barriers raised in this research, this confidence rating demonstrates the youths determination to strive towards their goals.

Linking relationships often depend on pre-existing bridging social capital between the youth and officials in organisations on micro and macro level. Trust is the bedrock of these relationships which will facilitate a more inclusive benefit. This trust would be strengthened if there is a monitoring and evaluation process of governments" performance which involves consultation with the very youth the programme is intended for. Internal social capital is built through the engagement between the monitoring unit which is across government departments. At a national government level the monitoring and evaluation unit is in the Presidency. This should be replicated at a provincial government level. Social capital can be found directly and indirectly. An untransformed public service official will not take well to monitoring because some of them at times display a blatant lack of accountability and dishonesty in the process of their work. Social capital can occur indirectly in that the

monitoring official is a public good within itself. Community outreach helps the community overcome the problems and through collective action of all stakeholders (Synergy) the problems affecting service delivery can be resolved (Putnam, 2000; Wallis & Dollery, 2000; Woolcock, 1998).

Youth in South Africa have the potential for taking on the challenge to improve themselves. This survey has shown that if given the right tools, they can leverage opportunities to ensure youth development. The question remains does government have the will and resources to respond to the challenge of reducing the negativity experienced by the youth. The National Development Plan and the National Youth Policy (2015 – 2020) informing internal social capital are certainly the first building blocks for social capital development. All future government plans, programmes and interventions need to locate itself within these blue prints, which recognise that implementation based on the Synergy view which embraces collaboration and broader stakeholder engagements from planning to implementation is required for better youth development prospects.

Greater stocks of social resources depend on the connection with public service performance. The public sector will result in communities having greater resilience against external shocks if it complies to the Synergy View. This highlights the potentially large role that the public sector plays in eliciting the positive associations between social capital and service quality improvement. There is a need to understand the challenges associated with designing and implementing effective co-production interventions which facilitates the youth, officials and any other third party service providers in relevant programmes (Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Andrews, 2011; OECD, 2001; Saguaro Group, 2000).

The findings in this chapter revealed that Beaufort West, a nodal area has accumulated the most linking social capital assets in terms of Table 4.38 which focused on the indicators to measure social capital. The specific drivers for this larger stock pile of social capital assets are related to the dimensions and indicators as follows: institutions (institutional efficiency), networks (participation and membership) and norms (trust and reciprocity). Gugulethu accumulated the most assets in terms of the social cohesion, the indicator for the social capital dimension collective action.

Table 4.38: Indicators of Social Capital Measurement

	Khayelitsha	Mitchell's Plain	Beaufort West	Manenberg	Gugulethu	Oudtshoorn
Indicators of SC	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Institutional	58.6	45.7	66.9	43.5	54.9	56.6
	55.7	39.2	53.6	42.8	53.3	49.9
Average %	57.2	42.5	60.3	43.2	54.1	53.3
Participation/ Membership	21.8	15.6	26.5	16.3	24.2	18.1
(Utilisation)	5.0	3.5	10.4	3.1	4.0	5.1
Average %	13.4	9.6	18.5	9.7	14.1	11.6
Trust						
Particularised	60.1	63.1	61.0	61.1	60.3	57.4
Generalised	46.6	46.2	60.9	47.8	54.3	57.7
Institutionalised	31.7	28.1	29.4	30.0	28.4	31.1
Average %	46.1	45.8	50.4	46.3	47.7	48.7
Reciprocity	21.4	12.7	36.7	20.3	18.8	21.3
	6.0	3.7	16.6	8.3	4.2	7.7
Average %	13.7	8.2	26.7	14.3	11.5	14.5
Social Cohesion	38.7	35.2	41.6	36.2	48.7	36.6
	47.7	49.9	44.4	48.3	37.9	48.0
Average %	43.2	42.6	43.0	42.3	43.3	42.3

Source: Survey data

In terms of the 3 types of social capital, Mitchell's Plain, a nodal area raised the highest rating for bonding social capital (69.2%) which includes the overall highest agapéian bonding social capital. Manenberg, a non-nodal area accumulated the most familial bonding social capital (45.9%).

Mitchell's Plain also displayed the highest level rating for embracing diversity by accumulating evidence of the largest amount of bridging social capital (40.7%).

Beaufort West through the evidence gathered on their awareness, utilisation and impact of particularly the public sector programmes and interventions raised the highest rating for linking social capital (20.6%).

Table 4.39 Stock of Types of Youth Social Capital

	Familial BSC		Agapéian BSC			
		Bonding Social Capital		Bridging Social Capital	Linking Social Capital	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Khayelitsha	43.7		19.1	-	-	-
		62.8		24.2	18.7	105.7
Mitchell's Plain	43.8		25.4	-	-	-
		69.2		40.7	16.9	126.8
Manenberg	45.9		20.2	-	-	-
		66.1		37.1	16.5	119.7
Gugulethu	41.4		19.3	-	-	-
		60.7		30.6	18.1	109.4
Beaufort West	40.0		23.1	-	-	-
		63.1		27.5	20.6	111.2
Oudtshoorn	40.6		19.7	-	-	-
		60.3		24.8	19.6	104.7

Source: Survey data

This is however, still a low level of stock therefore the impact on development remains limited. This outcome will require further empirical study because this area is still considered one of the poorest areas in the Western Cape. The low stock also points to certain inadequacies in terms of internal social capital within the public sector. On a broader level synergy was not evidenced raising the limitation of collaboration and co-operation of all stakeholders in the planning to implementation of youth interventions which will result in more stocks of social capital to impact youth development.

The researcher will respond to the hypothesis in the concluding chapter based on the survey results presented.

The researcher will now be able to provide conclusions in the final chapter based on the afore-going data which comprised of the findings and analysis. The findings and analysis will also position the researcher to make conclusions and recommendations for future interventions to be developed to build social capital amongst the youth.

Chapter 5: Recommendations and Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

The concluding chapter of this research addresses the following aspects: (1) contextualising the research which focused on whether youth have access to social capital assets which could advance their development; (2) a summary of the research findings and analysis using the Woolcock and Narayan (2001) four perspectives framework and the research sub-questions; (3) also providing the outcomes arrived at in terms of the types of social capital in the nodal and non-nodal areas informed by the measurement indicators and finally provide recommendations and conclusions which will include guidelines for the public sector interventions. This will provide and sustain social capital as a meaningful resource for the youth which is facilitated through access, awareness and relevant programmes.

5.2 Contextualising the Research

Studies on youth social capital focused mainly on issues of family, community and/or single dimension studies focusing on health, educational or social well-being outcomes. The international research also focused on programmes presented by various non-governmental organisations geared towards linking youth to opportunities for mentorship with community or education-based adults. In these studies social capital was used interchangeably as either a resource or an outcome mainly to poor youth and youth from immigrant communities.

The researcher recognised a gap in the various contributions as well as concerns with the concept of social capital which is still evolving and has empirical weaknesses. Therefore she decided to do a multidimensional descriptive study which proposed to respond to the hypothesis: The public sector is a key contributor to the significant stock of social capital among the youth in the Western Cape Province. In this research, social capital is a resource not an outcome. This study is further distinguished by examining whether public sector programmes for the youth contributed to their social capital assets through awareness, participation and utilisation. The researcher will reflect on the stock of social capital realised for the youth in these six areas using Woolcock and Narayan's four perspectives framework: communitarian, networks, institutional, synergy combined with the six thematic research sub-questions. The application of the framework further distinguished this thesis.

The researcher defined social capital using an adaptation of definitions of the World Bank (2003) and Woolcock (2001): Social capital is institutions, relationships, norms and networks that shape the quality and quantity of society's social interactions and enables collective action. Whilst social

capital accrues through individual interactions, high level impactful relationships and interactions lead to development of youth, as well as their community.

The researcher used the following research question: what is the nature and utilisation of social capital stock among youth in the six geographical areas of the Western Cape: Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Manenberg, Gugulethu, Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn. The researcher primarily examined the contribution of the public sector interventions to expand youth social capital resources to enable their development. The investigation also ascertained what types of social capital stock youth have in poor communities. The dimensions of social capital identified in the researcher's definition: institutions, relationships, networks, norms and collective action were allocated the following proxy indicators to enable measurement: institutional effectiveness, membership and participation, trust and reciprocity and social cohesion. The researcher conducted this descriptive research study using the quantitative approach, administering 9932 questionnaires (to youth between the ages of 15 to 25 years of age) from which the data was collected to inform the conclusions that follow. Particularly exploring linking social capital whether defined in the Institutional and/or the Synergy Views.

In poor communities countrywide the national government of South Africa identified the poorest areas as nodal areas requiring public sector departments to place more resources in these areas to aid the communities' development, as a critical poverty reduction strategy. National Ministers, MECs, Director-Generals and heads of Departments had to be focal to the design of relevant co-ordination structures to oversee the implementation of strategies. The researcher focused on three nodal areas: Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain and Beaufort West and chose three non-nodal areas: Gugulethu, Manenberg and Oudtshoorn which are comparable. This is yet another distinguishing feature of this research to see if nodal areas have more social capital stocks than non-nodal areas.

The literature reviewed by the researcher on youth social capital raised high levels of bonding social capital stock and to provide more clarity with regard to bonding social capital stocks (also seen as exclusive to its members) the researcher decided to disaggregate the term to ensure more specific measurement. In doing so the researcher coined two terms: familial bonding social capital referring to relationships within families that provided support: physical, emotional and advice which could perhaps evolve into opportunities. Interactions and relationships with friends and neighbours also played a significant role in many of the youths' lives, therefore the researcher labelled this resource as agapéian bonding social capital. As evidenced in this research, bonding social capital essentially is the currency of poor youth, with its limitations as evidenced in this research. Youth bonding social capital in poor communities was more familial, used for meeting basic needs. Even the agapéian social capital assets was essentially linked to basic needs of food, money and advice but it proved not to be enough to transition the youth to better opportunities.

Bonding and bridging social capital was examined in this research in using the communitarian and network perspectives in terms of the level of activity, membership and participation of youth, their families, friends and neighbours in the broader community with or without embracing diversity.

All three types of social capital are beneficial to the youth to aid their development on different levels. The formation of youth identity, social solidarity and active citizenship is vital to youth development. In poor households, whilst parents' and families' contribution to youth social capital is valued, these social capital networks of family, friends and neighbours are limited and there is very little leveraging of opportunities for youth advancement. If parents are involved in a range of communitarian activities, normative patterns emerge to assist the youth through bonding social capital being formed leveraging off parents existing networks. This requires parents to have exposure through work or social life to having access to influential networks.

The better opportunities are to ensure access to career options, bursaries, small business loans and leadership exposure which requires bridging and linking social capital. These opportunities require leveraging relationships and interactions with other youth service formations and adults beyond the immediate communitarian and exclusive networks. If exposure and useful information is accessible to youth meeting the intent of the synergy view youth advancement and development will ensue.

Resourceful adults should be found in youth friendly environments, for example, the extramural activities in the education system which extends to a broader inclusive community and at a regional level. Further stepping stones are also found in the tertiary sector, not for profit organisations and the public sector. None of the programmes and activities in this research demonstrated real synergy.

Limited synergy was found in the school based programmes which had a higher performance than the other programmes such as the school governing bodies, whilst linking social capital within Woolcock's institutional perspective was evidenced. It had limited impact as a result of low linking and insufficient bridging social capital which did not create the optimal conditions required in the synergy perspective for meaningful development to ensue. The school governing bodies includes the school community, government, NPOs, parents, learners, local business and educators. The representatives of the learner representative organisation on this structure did not have voting or decision-making rights in SGBs therefore the synergy view was undermined, as all parties need equal access to the decision-making abilities within the structure.

5.3 Summary of the Research Findings and Analysis

Reporting on the summary of the findings and analysis will be structured under the six thematic sub-questions of this research.

Table 5.1: Summary of Youth Social Capital Assets

	Nodal			Non-nodal		
	Khayelitsha	Mitchell's Plain	Beaufort West	Manenberg	Gugulethu	Oudtshoorn
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Communitarian perspective						
<i>Bonding SC</i>	62.8	69.2	63.1	66.1	60.7	60.3
<i>Bridging SC</i>	24.2	40.7	27.5	37.1	30.6	24.8
<i>Social Cohesion</i>	43.2	42.6	43.0	42.3	43.3	42.3
Network perspective						
<i>Participation/ Membership</i>	13.4	9.6	18.5	9.7	14.1	11.6
<i>Reciprocity</i>	13.7	8.8	26.7	14.3	11.5	14.5
<i>Trust</i>	46.1	45.8	50.4	46.3	47.7	48.7
Institutional perspective effectiveness						
<i>Institutional</i>	57.2	42.5	60.3	43.2	54.1	53.3
Linking Social Capital	18.7	16.9	20.6	16.5	18.1	19.6
Synergy perspective	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	279.3	276.1	310.1	291.0	280.1	275.1

5.3.1 Thematic Research Sub-Question One.

As earlier stated research sub-question one was an audit of youth challenges.

There is enough current evidence of high levels of youth criminality, school drop-outs, unemployment and teenage pregnancy indicating that something is missing in the socialisation of youth from their agents and interventions whether in the communitarian, networks or institutional perspectives that are needed to develop the youth (Annexure B). There was a 60 to 80% rating from the respondents in this survey citing the challenges to be teenage pregnancy, poverty, unemployment, substance abuse, gangsterism, crime and violence in these six areas. Khayelitsha,

Gugulethu and Oudtshoorn raised the additional issue of HIV/Aids. Khayelitsha is a nodal area while Gugulethu and Oudtshoorn are not. These challenges weaken the social functioning in poor communities. The audit also revealed that despite these challenges youth still indicated that they enjoyed living in their neighbourhoods. Oudtshoorn (87.3%), Mitchell's Plain (85.0%), Beaufort West (81.9%) displaying high levels of agapéian bonding social capital in the communitarian perspective.

The researcher interpreted why Gugulethu and Manenberg youth did not have a high response in terms of enjoying living in their neighbourhood. The lower rating was as a result of these youth attending schools in other areas not their neighbourhoods. Further evidence below indicates lower levels of social cohesion in these two areas.

These two areas also responded that they perceived that their communities had a negative perception of them, Manenberg (82.5%) and Gugulethu (77.3%) the other areas" youth also felt this way but to a lesser degree with a rating under 75%. Community in this instance is seen from this survey to be beyond the immediate neighbourhood thus indicating potential bridging social capital as a result of attending school in the other communities.

The challenges that were amplified in this research were centred on a need for employment and tertiary education opportunities as 5387 respondents were in the 19 – 25 year age cohort. Only 312 (6.24%) were in tertiary institutions, 13% were employed and 36.6% were unemployed. The remaining 50.3% of the 9932 were attending schools.

The other challenges particularly as a result of a lack of safety, poverty, youth infrastructure and irrelevant programmes are barriers to youth accruing social capital assets which lead to opportunities.

From this audit it became evident that the challenges impacted social cohesion as a contributor to the stock of social capital assets, this was particularly evidenced in Gugulethu, Manenberg and Khayelitsha. In terms of communal life, the critical issues affecting them are in the educational, work and social spaces. Poverty and under-development coupled with low linking social capital negates the synergy required for youth development.

5.3.2 Thematic Research Sub-Question Two

The researcher had key questions to elicit evidence of existing social capital in the six areas. The first conclusion that the researcher makes is that in all six areas whether nodal or non-nodal, strong to high bonding social capital exists.

This statement is supported by the role played by parents or family members in youths' lives. In these poor communities there was bonding social capital in the form of trust but very limited trust evidenced in the bridging and linking social capital environment. In Manenberg (49.2%) and to a lesser extent Mitchell's Plain youth went to parents or family for help as opposed to a doctor (26.3%) or a clinic. This demonstrates stock or existence of familial bonding social capital and to a lesser degree institutional linking social capital. The most viable stock of social capital assets was for supportive activities evidenced in these areas being both familial and agapéian bonding social capital, essentially used by the youth for meeting basic needs of food and money for survival needs. In testing for agapéian bonding social capital, Mitchell's Plain (77.3%), Beaufort West (76.3%) and Manenberg (70.6%) evidenced high stock assets in the identification of a trusted friend.

Oudtshoorn (64.8%), Gugulethu (58%) and Khayelitsha (56.8%) demonstrated moderate stocks of agapéian social capital. Khayelitsha is the second largest informal township in South Africa. It also demonstrated greater unemployment figures. Bridging social capital existed in varying degrees in the areas. The test was done through exploring friendships of the youth or their family with people from different religious affiliations or ethnic groups. The existence of bridging social capital in the areas of Khayelitsha and Oudtshoorn was the lowest in terms of contact of either the youth or their families with people of other religions or ethnicity.

In all the scenarios Mitchell's Plain and Manenberg demonstrated a greater propensity to embrace diversity and subsequently realised moderate to high stock levels of bridging social capital. Beaufort West, Gugulethu, Oudtshoorn and Khayelitsha raised the existence of low to moderate stocks of bridging social capital.

The proxy indicator for collective action used in this research was social cohesion. Institutions, in terms of the Institutional View, were measured through its proxy indicator institutional effectiveness, knowledge and utilisation. Networks through participation and membership also added empirical evidence to the Network View. Participation and membership is an actual demonstration of bridging and linking social capital. Ten activities were presented in two questions ranging from religion, sport to being involved in civic activities. Of the youth in this survey non participation was rated between 60% and 90% across the six areas. In questions testing social cohesion through how youth experienced the communities' perception of them, negative perceptions were confirmed. This situation of a lack of youth participation, membership and voluntary assistance in communities could be a casual indicator of this negative perception. As a result of this low participation rate, bridging social capital stock evidenced particularly in the Communitarian and Network perspectives decreased even in Mitchell's Plain and Manenberg which had slightly higher scores.

In testing for Institutional linking social capital the researcher focused on the public sector's contribution to youth social capital. Linking social capital stock was evidenced in Beaufort West at a higher stock level for utilisation, than the other areas. It was however, still not enough to elevate it to a moderate level of linking social capital. In the other areas there was awareness of public sector programmes but utilisation was below the 10 percent decile.

In conclusion, all three types of social capital were available to youth in the six areas. Mitchell's Plain was the only area that had high level stocks of bonding social capital. The other areas all demonstrated moderate stock levels of bonding social capital. Mitchell's Plain also had a higher moderate level of bridging social capital, followed by Manenberg. The other areas all recorded stocks of bridging social capital assets in the low category rating. Linking social capital was low in all areas with Beaufort West having a slightly higher rating than the other areas. The low levels of bridging and linking social capital which was evidenced in these six areas demonstrated the lack of interaction and collaboration needed as described in the Synergy perspective.

5.3.3 Thematic Sub-Question Three

The researcher will now focus on conclusions with regard to the processes which assisted youth to access and develop the stock of social capital assets. The backdrop to this sub-question is that the researcher stated upfront that social capital is a resource for enabling youth development.

Social capital is formed in the family, the neighbourhood and the broader community based on the relationships, networks and institutions available to the youth. Having trusted family and friends resulted in familial and agapéian bonding social capital but as evidenced in this study the benefits accrued from these assets for the youth in these poor communities were mainly centred on being embedded and exclusive. It contributed to youth identity formation and was supportive in meeting basic needs. Inclusive networks and opportunities require access to opportunities, particularly to influential adults and peers.

This lack of exposure militates against access to social capital therefore youth are deprived of getting the right information. An example to demonstrate this is that youth in the survey by majority indicated that their first option in their job search was to send a CV in trying to get employment. Yet it is common cause that if you know more about the job, make sure someone gives in your CV, get assistance in writing a good cover letter perhaps this could lead to a job. It was established through this survey that the youth in these six areas lacked the appropriate information to advance. It was also evidenced that government had a poor communication strategy when it came to assisting youth in particularly linking social capital. Youth could be better assisted if government and other

institutions used accessible and youth friendly information platforms, such as social networks: twitter, facebook, sms, mms as well as the appropriate programmes on radio and TV as print media is becoming less relevant to the youth as a result of limited financial resources available to the youth. As required in the Networks perspective the youth in this survey had a limited network range which did not have the required value and benefits to make a difference.

So access is definitely an area that will require public sector interventions if social capital is to be built among the youth. Internal social capital within the public sector is based on interdepartmental collaboration and external stakeholder consultation in the strategy development and implementation phase as described in the Synergy perspective which will result in a viable process to assist youth to accumulate social capital assets to produce resources to assist their development.

5.3.4 Thematic Sub-Question Four

The researcher in this section will draw conclusions with regard to the youths' usage patterns of the social capital stock.

The youth in all the areas used familial bonding social capital as their key resource. This was demonstrated by a high level dependency on family support. The majority of the youth surveyed despite their age, lived in the family home or with relatives. As this was a descriptive quantitative study, other than questions of support and guidance, support in terms of food security, accommodation and money, no further exploration was done. The quality of the nature of the relationships within the family context was not the focus of this study other than norms of trust and reciprocity. The researcher commented on two studies which explored the use of parents' networks. One study found that fathers' networks assisted in the procurement of employment for their sons. Mothers' networks were found to be less useful to both their sons and daughters.

Further investigation is recommended as families from which the youth in this survey originated, had a significant number of female headed households. As many mothers worked, the networks they have would require more research.

The youth were asked whether they were happy living in their communities not whether they were happy living in their homes, this would provide more evidence to entrench the social capital resource within the Communitarian perspective.

The challenges were external to home life, for example, the impact of gangs and substance abuse. So if more information is required, for example, the responses to substance abuse would be to see a social worker. Further qualification on the subject matter would be whether psychotherapy as an

intervention helped and whether the problem was resolved, this could be the subject of further research.

Agapéian bonding social capital assets were higher in Mitchell's Plain, Manenberg and Beaufort West based on the relationship with a trusted friend. Khayelitsha, Gugulethu and Oudtshoorn had moderate agapéian bonding social capital while having higher familial bonding social capital stock demonstrating internal, intra-communal micro level relationships and social interventions in an exclusive environment.

In terms of social capital based on networks and participation, participation in religious activities further evidenced the existence of agapéian social capital.

Beaufort West (78.8%) displayed high stock levels of agapéian bonding social capital in response to participation in religious activities. Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain and Oudtshoorn all recorded frequencies of moderate agapéian bonding social capital. Manenberg (39.9%) indicated the lowest participation rates resulting in moderate agapéian bonding social capital. Religious networks could produce opportunities if the networks in the religious community reached beyond that community. Whether employment opportunities for some of the youth were derived, this element is unknown as it was not tested. It could be the subject of further study, as the focus of this study was the types of social capital youth had access to and the impact of public sector programmes in contributing to their available stock to increase their developmental potential.

Whilst the above factor raised a high level of responsiveness this impact was significantly reduced affecting all the types of social capital as a result of non-participation varying between 60% and 80% across all the other opportunities for participation and membership as indicated on Table 5.1.

Media sources had an influence on the youth and provided stock of linking social capital in terms of providing information but did not have the depth for creating opportunities on a larger scale to be able to be equated with a higher stock level. More recently the media has tended to portray government programmes in a negative light, linked to alleged fraud and corruption. The public sector will have to provide either more face to face encounters or the use of social networks to inform the youth. Government could learn from the recent well publicised use of social media in the #FeesMustFall campaign how youth used their social capital networks. The Synergy perspective was demonstrated through forged unity in purpose between all stakeholders across the country resulting in the largest single campaign in assisting youth to advance their development by reducing the cost of tertiary education. Their ultimate goal is free education.

5.3.5 Thematic Sub-Question Five

Conclusions that are drawn in this section reflect the gaps that exist. Gaps in the public sector interventions were evidenced in this survey. Despite the financial investment of government, impact was not being evidenced in the youths' daily experiences. This is inherently as a result of a lack of internal social capital and the lack of massification of governments' programmes.

Accessibility issues and opportunity barriers identified in this survey identified the gaps in public sector service delivery and youth under-utilisation. The formation of social capital requires all the social capital dimensions, particularly the norm of trust. Trust related issues were raised in this survey as a barrier to linking social capital. Youth programmes also have to be demand led. Relevance of the programmes to meet the demands must include identification of youth leaders, use youth ambassadors and youth development workers to fill the gap, as well as content relevance.

Certain professionals in the public sector were rated higher than the department or the programmes, the reverse was also evidenced giving rise to the under-formation of linking social capital. A limited institutional perspective was evidenced but it could not elevate to the Synergy perspective as there was insufficient internal co-ordination and a lack of full consultation with all stakeholders to ensure programme relevance and responsiveness to youth needs.

It is important for the researcher to draw conclusions that the political change in the Western Cape had impact. In the 2009 elections, the opposition party won, replacing the leadership of the provincial government. This change had an impact on the programmes and budgets for the existing youth development programmes. The Health Department's community based care programme has been outsourced to the NPO sector, this poses a problem because the Synergy view requires more than just funding NPOs. The budget for this programme declined by R8 million. The same pattern emerged with the Education Departments' SGBs and RCLs which had a dramatic budgetary decline impacting this platform for youth participation and listening to youth voices.

The Expanded Public Works programme previously had 30 000 work opportunities this has now been replaced by a Youth Service Programme with 847 youth receiving 12 months training and work opportunity in the 2012/13 financial year with a R22.7 million budget compared to the R54 million budget in 2005/06 financial year.

The Social Development Department budget for youth programmes was R 5.2 million in the 2005/06 financial year and declined to R 24 000 in the 2012/13 financial year. The department still has 20 district based youth development centres with a 100 trained youth volunteers. Their

effectiveness should be assessed due to the limited funding for actual programmes, such as youth camps, summits, job search support, skills expos and small business opportunities. Currently there is a family based intervention project impacting 200 youth. Against the backdrop of the situational analysis in research sub-question one; this becomes insignificant in terms of the youth challenges.

In the Economic Affairs and Tourism Department the Job Seekers Centre and the Red Door programmes have been replaced by the Work Skills programmes which targets 2500 youth over 3 years at an increased cost of R25.1 million in the 2012/13 financial year. The gap youth wanted filled as evidenced in this survey was small business development opportunities, opportunities to secure employment and bursaries for tertiary education.

It was reported in the PGWC Audit Report in the 2011/12 financial year that the Youth Commission was de-established and not replaced with any other structure. The reason provided was under-spending of its budget. This demonstrates a lack of internal social capital as this was a specific platform for youth decision-making. Two further programmes in the Department of Community safety, namely Pedestrian Crossing at schools and Community Liaison volunteers on stipend housed in the Bambanani Project specifically targeting the youth were also discontinued. This was as a result of a policy shift and budget reprioritisation. The financial resources were shifted to the Neighbourhood Watch programme. Further research is required as in the survey youth raised the impact of gangs in their community and a lack of school safety. These challenges would require more provincial government involvement not less.

The Agriculture Department had also focused on the farmworker development and land care programme. This programme gave many rural youth a linking social capital opportunity at a cost of R10.1 million in the 2005/06 financial year which now has been replaced by a 12 month EPWP programme with a budget of R4 million in 2012/13 financial year. More studies are required to assess the outcomes and impact. Programmes should be assessed and reviewed, based on the outcome of the evaluation it should either be massified or discontinued.

In some of the programmes good progress was indicated. The Wheelie Wagon Library programme added five more sites in 2012/13 financial year. In the Sports Mass Participation programme instead of sport assistants in certain schools, 106 mass participation opportunities and access to sport development centres were established. The budget reflected a marked increase from R12 million to R44,6 million in the 2012/13 financial year.

The policy shift in the province has not necessarily seen better integration and co-ordination of youth activities. Internal social capital and synergy is dependent for viable programme implementation and provincial departments should move away from their independent piece meal approach to programmes that provide youth with social capital resources.

5.3.6 Thematic Sub-Question Six

This section focused on what is required to build the necessary social capital to ensure youth development.

The researcher provided a review of the South African government policy arena as it pertains to youth development and found that it was an inclusive process resulting in very good policies.

The key challenge amplified in this survey was in the implementation of the programmes. Youth who participated in this survey demonstrated areas of exclusion. This exclusion was as a result of particularly the attitude of public servants, the cost to access the support and the lack of appropriate programmes. The provincial government should ensure that there is internal social capital within the departments who provide services to youth. Internal social capital requires awareness and training of staff as part of the transformation agenda.

Another essential ingredient for the Synergy perspective which will provide viable social capital resources is government building platforms for youth to participate in decision-making in respect to the design of future programmes, merely establishing an institution or a network is not enough. Relevance will lead to utilisation particularly if impact is experienced. This should change the picture of non-participation and under-utilisation expressed by the respondents in this survey.

For the youth in this survey the most important future goal was finding employment or creating an opportunity to support themselves financially in their development trajectory.

The challenge of jobless growth has had an impact on youth. In certain poor communities youth are seen as displaying inappropriate behaviour in their struggle to voice their desperation about their situation. Youth involvement in violent community protests had dented their image. Recently with the campaigns: Rhodes Must Fall, Open Stellenbosch Movement and lastly, the #FeesMustFall campaign, a change in youth behaviours was witnessed. This common cause campaign had the support of all stakeholders, including the President of South Africa. Youth voices were heard in a largely peaceful form of demonstration which culminated in their success of no increase in fees for the 2016 academic year. Youth have however declared that this is only the first step to their demand for free education. Youth social capital in this instance based on networks supported by social networks linked their efforts and activities with support of lecturers, parents and society as required in the Synergy perspective. The survey conducted did not realise synergy but youth have evidenced that social activism beyond partisan limitations is viable in our country.

Government together with public and private partnerships will have to create a range of youth friendly programmes which deal with sport leadership development, grants and subsidies, craft skills, internships, learnerships, artisan skills training and creative arts promotional opportunities.

Youth multi-purpose centres could provide housing for a comprehensive package of youth services and networks from health to career preparation and guidance.

In poor communities there should be access to computer facilities. Education should also introduce a pillar within the extra curricula activities for community service so that youth are exposed to volunteering opportunities.

The National Development Plan and the National Youth Policy should guide all programmes of government and its funded NPOs. Existing programmes should be subjected to review by a transversal monitoring and evaluation unit.

Finally, the youth surveyed indicated hope and trust in attaining their dreams and aspirations for the future. But without the appropriate building blocks of which social capital – the glue – is integral, the backlash and instability will erode the fruits of our democracy.

5.4 Stock of Social Capital

The stock of social capital will be assessed using the indicators and the types of social capital. The youth in the older age cohort, 19 – 25 years, evidenced the most stock of social capital. This study revealed that young women had more social capital stock than their male counterparts.

5.4.1 Indicators and Proxy Indicators

In order to estimate the weight of youth assets as a result of the stock of social capital in each of the six areas the researcher used the following indicators also called proxy indicators as it represents the dimensions to be measured. The following indicators were used for institutions: the indicator was institutional effectiveness, for networks it was membership and participation, for relationships and norms it was trust and reciprocity and for collective action the indicator was social cohesion. The researcher used the following measurement framework: 1 – 33% low, 34 – 66% moderate and 67 – 100% high stock value of social capital. The researcher used these measures as her own determination for the purpose of this research.

5.4.1.1 Institutional Effectiveness

The measurement for institutional effectiveness was read together with knowledge of public sector programmes, utilisation and impact. The performance of the department as well as trust in relation to the public sector officials was elicited through a range of questions. Specific issues such as being a victim of crime, substance abuse problems or feeling ill was also tested. Beaufort West raised moderate (53.6%) to high (66.9%) levels of institutional effectiveness. Whilst Khayelitsha (58.6%), Oudtshoorn (56.6%) and Gugulethu (54.9%) had awareness of the government programmes yet their level of utilisation was very low leading to statistically insignificant ratings for

impact. Mitchell's Plain (45.7%) and Manenberg (43.5%) had a lower rating in terms of knowledge of the programmes (Table 4.38). The overall rating was as follows: Beaufort West (60.3%), Khayelitsha (57.2%), Gugulethu (54.1%), Oudtshoorn (53.3%), Manenberg (43.2%) and Mitchell's Plain (42.5%).

5.4.1.2 Membership and Participation

Beaufort West (18.5%) also exhibited more weight in its rating of membership and participation as exhibited in the summary Table 5.1. Gugulethu (14.1%) and Khayelitsha (13.4%) had the next significant weights but it was still in the low stock range. Oudtshoorn (11.6%), Manenberg (9.7%) and Mitchell's Plain (9.6%) were all in the under 20% value range. The networks offered encompassed all types of activities which youth should be exposed to religious and sport activities rendered higher scores but non-participation was the over-riding experience demonstrated.

In terms of membership and participation female respondents had a slightly higher rating (11.3%) compared to young men (8.4%). The only element where young men (17.2%) had a rating higher than young women (13.4%) was participation in sporting activities. Youth in the younger cohort 15 – 18 years, had less membership and participation in all but one activity, social clubs.

5.4.1.3 Norm of Trust

The trust indicator was divided into generalised and particularised trust. Also already stated, in testing trust particularly in assessing the bonding social capital type added a new element by dividing particularised trust, into familial and agapéian sub-types. Respondents demonstrated to what extent based on trust they could approach families, friends and neighbours for assistance.

In terms of familial trust, Khayelitsha (82.6%) raised the most trust. The other areas raised between 68.4% and 79.9%. This level was all in the high stock level. In terms of agapéian bonding social capital, Mitchell's Plain (56.6%), Beaufort West (54.7%) and Manenberg (51.1%) rated their trust of friends in the 50 percent decile, whilst the remaining areas Oudtshoorn (45.6%), Gugulethu (40.8%) and Khayelitsha (37.7%) rated this type of trust at lower levels. These two types of trust are particularised trust.

Generalised trust, firstly dealt with trust as it pertains to the community in which the respondents live. This supports both the Communitarian and Networks perspectives which lay the basis for normative responses. Scenarios were sketched with regard to societal trust, people generally trust each other and help each other out. The youth were prepared to help but qualified their help with the conditionality, of having to know the person. Once again, this demonstrated agapéian bonding social capital and not bridging social capital. Beaufort West (60.9%) recorded the highest rating. The other areas rated their generalised trust between 46.2% and 57.7%.

In terms of institutionalised trust all the areas rated this trust relationship with the generic public sector workers to be in the low level status of 28.1% to 31.7%. The mistrust levels for politicians were 52% and for community leaders it was 40.5%.

Beaufort West had the highest level of overall trust in the moderate level of 53.3%.

5.4.1.4. Norm of Reciprocity

Reciprocity was tested on two levels, firstly in relation to family, friends and neighbours. Secondly it was tested in relation to services received from the public sector.

In terms of the responses of the family supporting other households and also being in receipt of either financial or food support from outside the household, Beaufort West supported others (42.2%) and was also being supported from external sources (31.3%) all within the familial context. The least level of reciprocity in terms of household support was demonstrated by Mitchell's Plain.

Reciprocity in terms of public sector utilisation and impact also raised the highest rate for Beaufort West (16.6%) but it was still in the low level stock category. The remaining areas rated this form of reciprocity between 3.7% and 8.3%. The combined reciprocity rating followed a similar trend with Beaufort West having a rating of 26.7% and the remaining areas ranged between 8.2% and 14.5% (Table 4.38).

The researcher concludes that these low rates (Table 5.1) demonstrate low trust, but more importantly, little available resources in poor communities leading to very little positive exchanges and benefits from these interactions. Another conclusive statement the researcher can make is that while linking social capital existed in these areas, the stock weight was not enough for youth to be developed into productive and active citizens. The low level reinforced the cycle of poverty for the majority of youth, public sector interventions need to arrest intergenerational poverty.

5.4.1.5. Social Cohesion

Gugulethu (43.3%), Khayelitsha (43.2%) and Beaufort West (43.0%), had slightly higher social cohesion than the other areas which had a rating between 42.3% and 42.6%. This demonstrated low leveraging of community strengths in terms of the ABCD approach (McKnight, Kretzmann, Cunningham & Mathie, 1993).

Social cohesion was accessed based on youth living and enjoying their community and scenarios of community assistance and participation. The community perception of youth was also tested from the youths' perspective it was negative for more than 50% of the youth.

The responses across the areas were all in the moderate stock levels of social capital. This signifies that these areas are not as coherent and that there is less “glue” that holds these societies together (World Bank, 1999; Landman, 2013).

5.4.2 Types of Social Capital

The researcher combined all the scores related to the different types of social capital for each area. The accumulation of the assets as a result of the youths’ responses delivered the following results.

5.4.2.1 Bonding Social Capital

In terms of bonding social capital stocks, two areas alleviated their stocks into the high stock level, Mitchell’s Plain (69.2%) and Manenberg (66.1%). The remaining areas Beaufort West (63.1%), Khayelitsha (62.8%), Gugulethu (60.7%) and Oudtshoorn (60.3%) all had moderate asset scores between 60.3% and 63.1% (Table 5.1). The younger age cohort, 15 – 18 years, demonstrated more familial bonding social capital than the older cohort when discussing the future plans and problems with their partners.

With respect to the distinction the researcher has made in dividing bonding social capital into the familial and agapéian sub-types, Manenberg (45.9%) demonstrated the most familial resources and Mitchell’s Plain (25.4%) had the most agapéian resources (Table 4.39).

Across the areas the familial portion to the overall accumulated bonding social capital was a moderate weight of between 40.0% and 45.9%. The other driver, the agapéian sub-type reflected on the resources provided to youth through their friendship and neighbours networks in the Communitarian and Networks perspectives revealed low rating levels of between 19.1% and 25.4%. Young women demonstrated 52.1% familial bonding social capital and 38.3% agapéian social capital. Young men evidenced 32.0% familial bonding social capital and 26.5% agapéian bonding social capital.

The conclusion made is that familial bonding social capital is significant to the youth despite its yield not being significant enough to propel their advancement as these areas are indeed the poorest areas. Whilst friends and neighbours played a supportive role in the youths’ lives this social solidarity did not equate to a weight to significantly change the youths’ lives.

5.4.2.2 Bridging Social Capital

This survey also tested the respondent’s reaction to embracing diversity in terms of race, language and religious affiliation. It also tested for opportunities used by youth beyond their immediate neighbourhood affecting the broader community. Mitchell’s Plain (40.7%) and Manenberg (37.1%) both achieved a moderate level of bridging social capital. The other four areas, Gugulethu (30.6%),

Beaufort West (27.5%), Oudtshoorn (24.8%) and Khayelitsha (24.2%) all rated a presence of bridging social capital opportunities but in the low stock range level.

The researcher concludes that Mitchell's Plain a large residential area, literally consisting of eight suburbs formed the basis of being established through the previous government's policy of forced removals from places like District 6 in the city centre. The area was mixed racially, the three languages were spoken in the area and Christians and Muslims lived side by side. The other conclusion the researcher makes is that Gugulethu (70.0%) and Manenberg (43.8%) also had a larger number of youth attending schools outside of the community they live in.

This element of location of school provided these areas with bridging opportunities. Female youth (34.5%) evidenced moderate bridging social capital while male youth (25.1%) had low bridging social capital. The limited membership and participation in broader community activities also limited the youths' exposure to resource opportunities to form bridging networks which could be leveraged to assist their development process in the Communitarian and Networks perspectives.

5.4.2.3. Linking Social Capital

Linking social capital in the Institutional perspective as used in this research is only the first critical base for a difference to be made. The researcher examined through various questions the stock of linking social capital through the knowledge of programmes, trust of public sector workers, utilisation of these resources and impact. The survey had revealed varying degrees of knowledge of the programmes, SGBs, was under 80% awareness and approximately 28% participation, RCL had 70% awareness and approximately 30% utilisation. These programmes were followed by the Bambanani volunteers, Learnerships and the Human Rights Commission which recorded awareness between 65% and 55%, utilisation was under 15%. The rest of the programmes were rated with an awareness of less than 10%, participation was less than 5%. More research and evaluation would have to be done to understand the low utilisation and impact rates of these programmes intended to develop youth in poor communities.

The other areas tested focused on departments, their staff and generic programmes, examples were education, health, social development and the South African Police Services (SAPS). Social workers, educators and health professionals received ratings between 40.7% and 53% for "a lot" of trust. SAPS, local municipal officials and court officials received trust ratings of under 30% in the "a lot" category. Community leaders (20.6%), politicians (16.4%) and NGO workers (15.9%) were trusted less in the "a lot" category by youth reducing the linking opportunities which should have provided institutional social capital resources for the youth in poor communities. Beaufort West (20.6%) demonstrated the highest overall linking social capital. Out of the 18 programmes targeting youth Beaufort West recorded the highest level of awareness in 11 programmes and the highest

scores for utilisation in 15 of these programmes. The other two areas which also had high awareness were Oudtshoorn and Khayelitsha with very low levels of utilisation. The overall linking social capital rating for Oudtshoorn (19.6%) and Khayelitsha was (18.7%) with the remaining areas responding with a rating of between 16.0% and 18.0%.

Linking social capital requires all stakeholders to participate in the design and relevance of implemented programmes to achieve maximum impact for development to ensue within the Synergy perspective. The gender breakdown for linking social capital yielded low levels for young women (18.9%) and young men (11.6%). This survey revealed that none of the public sector youth targeted programmes achieved this requirement hence the low linking social capital results.

The public sector will have to review its approach, introduce guidelines for its programmes, internal social capital among the staff, content relevance, accountability and youth-friendly platforms. A key contributor to ensure utilisation is also awareness making as part of the public sector communication strategy using available technologies.

5.5 Nodal and Non-Nodal Areas

The researcher had distinguished between nodal and non-nodal areas. This approach was used because national government had declared the poorest nodes based on its poverty rating in each province. An integrated government response was designed to improve service quality and also to provide opportunities to reduce poverty and increase the developmental interventionist approach within these areas since 1999. Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha was declared the urban node and Beaufort West was declared the Western Cape's rural node by the former President Thabo Mbeki.

The Western Cape's provincial government's iKapa Elihlumayo strategy embraced the nodal areas and social capital interventions for the youth.

The researcher had selected comparable non-nodal areas within the same vicinity, Manenberg, Gugulethu and Oudtshoorn, with similar rates for unemployment, school drop-out rates and other social ills impacting the youth.

The researcher evidenced that youth programmes and projects had not made the necessary impact needed for development despite the investment in the nodal areas as a result of the limited social capital assets accumulated.

The overall measurement of types of social capital yielded the most stock in Mitchell's Plain (44.0%), a nodal area, but the level was a moderate stock level. Mitchell's Plain youth also

demonstrated the highest rates for bonding social capital (69.2%) and bridging social capital (40.7%).

Mitchell's Plain was 3% ahead of all the remaining areas in terms of bridging social capital which gave it a higher scoring position in terms of overall stock yield from the three types of social capital, in terms of the indicators it came in the fifth position.

Beaufort West, the rural nodal area based on the indicators of social capital for measurement namely, institutional effectiveness, participation and membership, norms of trust and reciprocity had the highest rated scores in all four categories (Table 5.1). Beaufort West (20.6%) also revealed the most stock in linking social capital despite its low category stock. Beaufort West (53.3%) also demonstrated the highest stock of overall trust which included generalised, particularised and institutional trust. Bridging social capital did not evidence the impact of the resource and would require more intensive research to understand this anomaly.

Khayelitsha, the third nodal area showed extensive knowledge of public sector social capital resources but demonstrated very little utilisation. Oudtshoorn demonstrated the highest ratings among the non-nodal areas with very little variance between Khayelitsha and Oudtshoorn in the 1% range on most of the proxy indicators.

In a similar situation, being nodal and non-nodal, Mitchell's Plain and Manenberg also demonstrated a higher level of bridging social capital. The respondents recognised these resources but its influence was not evidenced in terms of these networks providing opportunities beyond basic needs and friendship. Manenberg also demonstrated the highest rating for familial bonding social capital. Manenberg had the lowest rating in terms of the measurement indicators. Gugulethu evidenced moderate low levels of social capital across the types and indicators of social capital.

In conclusion the nodal areas had more knowledge and Oudtshoorn a non-nodal area, was comparable. The other two non-nodal urban areas had less knowledge of the programmes and low utilisation and impact requiring more investigation into why youth did not trust that a difference could possibly be made through their participation to enable access to social capital resources. It also raises issues about relevance and whether proper consultation had been conducted with the youth prior to the inception of these programmes.

5.6 The Hypothesis

The researcher set out to test the following descriptive hypothesis: The public sector is a key contributor to the significant stock of social capital among the youth in the Western Cape Province. The results from this study demonstrated that the public sector interventions and programmes

have a low utilisation rate among youth in the Province. The gap in the public sector interventions contributed to this low utilisation specifically in the areas of programme relevance, poor communication and poor design of interventions and programmes. The public sector further displayed a lack of integration, consultation and responsiveness to the intended beneficiaries (youth). The researcher recognises that the process of internal social capital formation should be recommended to government in order to achieve the Synergy perspective as postulated by Woolcock and Narayan (2000). These findings clearly disprove that the public sector in its current delivery of programmes and interventions is a key contributor to the formation of social capital among the youth.

Social capital was evidenced by the youth in this study, but it was in moderate levels specifically in relation to bonding social capital and low in relation to bridging social capital. In order for sustainable youth development all forms of social capital would have to be present in a moderate to high rating.

5.7 Social Capital Formation Requirements

The current myopia of government programmes provides limited opportunities as it is not catalytic in scope and size. Building youth social capital is complex and intricate requiring multi-stakeholder consultations and strategies. Youth, particularly in the past year, specifically October 2015, have demonstrated that they have capacity to form decision-making forums around a common purpose agenda on a massified basis using social media to organise networks to advance collective action. Integrated youth development using social capital resources foster social cohesion. In order to create opportunities weak ties should be strengthened to allow movement in and between various networks. Structures charged with the mandate of youth development need to be strengthened or replaced. The agenda for the structures has to be youth demand led. The South African Youth Council, the National Youth Development Agency, student youth structures, religious youth structures and political youth structures should ensure they truly have youth support and represent their voices.

The template for action should be based on the National Development Plan (2030) and the National Youth Policy (2015-2020) which recognises partnerships and stakeholder consultation through established platforms.

These policies establish mechanisms which provide platforms and spaces for youth to enhance their opportunities for engagement to connect them to the resources which becomes their opportunities for development. If these structures provide youth with decision-making authority it will have their buy-in to ensure participation, to be innovative, youth friendly ideas which will add impetus to changing themselves and their communities current disposition. These structures

provide for networks into communities. By using these networks as social capital resources, benefits will accrue to the youth. These benefits become the stock of assets to facilitate youth development.

Democracy and development will be strengthened if these interventions and programmes are based on trust and accountability, it will result in utilisation and participation.

This descriptive study tested for types and corresponding stocks of social capital as well as identifying gaps for the public sector to transform its current programmes to enable and empower youth. These opportunities would shift the discourse on youth from being perceived as a liability to being proactive, innovative and having their voices heard so that they can become part of the change they would like to see. This participation further entrenches bridging and linking social capital for the youth. Their potential and energy will be converted into successful programmes that promote their development as described in the ABCD approach.

Youth development interventions will give effect to good South African policies if its interventions are collaborative, inclusive and consultative from planning to implementation in terms of the Synergy perspective. This approach, if it embraces respect for youth, provides meaningful engagement and inculcates active citizenry, will signal a turn around to ensure efficiency and efficacy of governments' spend on youth. The negative social perceptions of the stature and role of youth in their own families and their community life will then experience change.

The youth would then be less likely to seek their social capital in informal settings or deviant environments. In terms of the Communitarian perspective, families are spending less time together in the home or going out together for the purpose of attending community events. Young people have a close connectivity to their cellphones and television diminishing bonding social capital.

It is a societal and governments' responsibility through relevant programmatic interventions to re-engage the youth. The re-engagement process takes youth seriously and does not display classic adult dismissiveness of youth voices. This method based on social capital thinking is critical in the engagement process. This will reduce the youths' ability to "tune-out" preferring their own alternatives which could result in negative social network activity.

5.8 Recommendations

The researcher would like to make the following recommendations:

- (a) That all youth implementation strategies of the public sector and funded NPOs be based on two critical policy documents:
 - The National Development Plan, 2030 (2012) and the

- Youth Development Policy (2015 – 2020).

- (b) That a co-ordinating youth structure (internal social capital) be formed to ensure resource pooling, reduce duplication and ensure integration across departments and funded NPOs. This will bring about efficiency and more effective management.
- (c) That a communication strategy using social media be designed. Communication to ensure consultation and utilisation is essential particularly in poor communities to ensure access and in that way social capital formation for the youth can take place.
- (d) A platform for youth to participate in decision-making for the design of the programmes for implementation.
- (e) That all current youth-related programmes based on low utilisation and impact demonstrated in this research, be re-evaluated in order to make a determination of amending or de-establishing the programmes.
- (f) A transversal unit for monitoring and evaluation to be established with youth professional monitors. Currently there is a monitoring and evaluation unit in the presidency. The proposed unit should form part of this establishment and be replicated at provincial and local government level.
- (g) Youth employment opportunities to be massified and the Youth Wage Subsidy to be reviewed as its impact has not been felt.
- (h) Youth multi-purpose centres should be established beyond just libraries housing a wide range of services to assist youth with opportunities, bursaries applications, skills, CV preparation, small business funding opportunities, academic support and other youth services. The Department of Public Works should relook unused government buildings as potential facilities.
- (i) Family support services to be established for early detection of youth problems, such as depression, dealing with peer pressure and substance abuse.
- (j) Staff procurement in government particularly for youth development programmes must ensure that better networked people are procured who understand youth institutions and youth language, for example, youth development workers. Merely establishing a youth unit or desk in departments has proven to be insufficient.

- (k) Internal social capital training sessions should be part of the orientation of a transformed public service.
- (l) Youth leadership development and youth acceleration programmes should be funded for example, youth ambassadors.
- (m) Education department should make the youth community service pillar compulsory in schools.
- (n) Youth friendly recreational spaces that provide opportunities to network be provided.
- (o) Reconnect and re-engage out of school youth with different opportunities to complete a school leaving certificate.
- (p) Create intergenerational programmes for youth for parents and grandparents role models in child and youth headed households, as well as massifying the Isibindi programme of the Department of Social Development.
- (q) Civil society organisations should be strengthened as intermediary organisations at the micro level embedded in terms of the Communitarian perspective.
- (r) Address the inequality in youth programme distribution favouring poor communities.

5.9 Guidelines for Public Sector Interventions

The researcher as part of the terms of reference for this study, felt it was necessary that preliminary suggestions and guidelines for public service practitioners be provided and devised to build social capital for the youth. The researcher also provides recommendations to improve the existing public sector programmes from which the youth could derive benefit. The social capital public sector programmes proposed in Annexure E should be evaluated and tested against the guidelines below.

In concluding this final chapter in the research it is critical for government, and in this instance the provincial government, to step back and revise and evaluate its processes before investing in programmes for the youth. This research has evidenced that youth showed a low level of awareness for the majority government programmes and an even lower level of utilisation and impact.

Woolcock and Narayan (2000:227) articulates the following position: “weak, hostile or indifferent governments have a profoundly different effect on community life and development projects, than do governments that respect civil liberties, uphold the rule of law, honour contracts, and resist corruption”. The researcher would add consultation and appropriate communication to this list.

The South African democratic government has adopted these principles towards the goal of achieving the status of a developmental state. This requires interventions with a well-entrenched consultation process. The officials mentioned in this research, social workers, health care professionals, educators, local government officials are still in the transformational process to change the way they do their work.

In the light of the results of the limited engagement process with government interventions by youth as demonstrated in this research, the researcher will provide the following Guidelines for Public Sector interventions and programmes.

1. Situational Analysis of Youth.
2. Community Survey
3. Review of Existing Programmes.
4. Focus and Discussion Groups with Youth.
5. Consultative Youth Forum.
6. Social Capital Formation Intervention Checklist
7. Project Design.
8. Pilot Project.
9. Evaluation of the Pilot Project.
10. Budget Projections.
11. Programme Implementation.
12. Programme Monitoring and Evaluation.

5.9.1 Guideline Description

Below follows a brief description of each guideline.

5.9.1.1 Situational Analysis of Youth

This process can be conducted through a desk top analysis. It will require an understanding and an audit of the youth status in the community. It will also indicate gaps in service delivery, school attendance in local communities and the number of out of school youth. Unemployment, substance abuse, HIV/Aids infections and gang activity are some of the key indicators requiring interventions. Key sources: NDP, NYDA, Status Report on Youth and Youth Risk Report and all other youth related research.

5.9.1.2 Community Survey

This process examines youth relevant structures in the community. This survey would look at educational, social and leisure organisations, networks, NGOs and facilities. This survey could take the form of a questionnaire followed by a community imbizo. Usually, community members and youth in this form of engagement raise community issues with government's political leadership and senior officials.

5.9.1.3 Review of Existing Programmes.

NPOs, churches and government provide programmes in communities that are poor and vulnerable. Public sector programmes are all implemented by government departments and funded NPOs. The Western Cape Provincial Government does an annual review on their departmental investments.

5.9.1.4 Focus and Discussion Groups with the Youth

The type of focus groups required should have an agenda to specifically hear from the youth themselves in their own language. Focus groups or discussion groups start to test the available social capital stock in the community, testing if there is bonding, bridging and linking social capital stock.

5.1.9.5 Consultative Youth Forum

All youth structures need to be invited to participate in the forum discussions. The aim is to identify and build youth capacity and leadership to assist with the identification of the types of programmes and projects required. Priority setting is part of this series of consultations. Youth sector leadership is also then identified to lead the continuous youth consultations and rapporteur functions.

5.1.9.6 Social Capital Formation Check List

Does the programme:

- i. provide network opportunities?
- ii. increase youth opportunities to engage in community activities and volunteering?
- iii. provide bridging social capital by promoting inclusion to build social cohesion?
- iv. provide a platform for both formal and informal relationships?
- v. build trust with all stakeholders?
- vi. equip youth with skills to navigate their transition to adulthood?
- vii. provide skills and information to inform youth decisions?
- viii. have a communication strategy that is targeted and accessible?

5.9.1.7 Project Design

The youth leadership identified at the youth consultative forum will lead the project design with the technical assistance of government and civil society leadership. This will ensure linking social capital, with the potential to become the beneficial social capital described in the Synergy perspective.

5.9.1.8 Pilot Project

The public sector should not embark on full blown programmes and projects before it is tested for relevance, financial viability, patterns of usage and impact. A pilot project would provide the above needed information.

5.9.1.9 Budget Projections

Technical assistance will also assist with budget forecasting and projections. The cost drivers of the programme must be clearly defined and costed. Governments currently plan in 3 year cycles called the Medium Term Expenditure Framework.

5.9.1.10 Evaluation of Pilot Project

The evaluation of the pilot project should not just be a technical report by funders and government officials. It should be a series of meetings (youth forums) to establish the viability for the roll out of the project, or the closure of the project.

5.9.1.11 Programme Implementation

This usually requires organisation and administration, human capacity, physical and financial resources. The implementation is the actualisation of the policy, procedures and regulations to ensure that the intervention takes place. Staff procurement is an essential process, particularly the attitude of workers towards the youth as this is a critical success factor. Another success factor is the communication strategy which is targeted.

5.9.1.12 Programme Monitoring and Evaluation

The success of a programme or project lies in regular monitoring and evaluation. Targets need to be set to ensure impact and quality of the service. Trends also need to be monitored to assess the utilisation and impact of the programmes in terms of its outputs and outcomes.

5.10 Concluding Statement

In focusing on the nature and utilisation of social capital among the youth in the Western Cape, the researcher tested the hypothesis that the public sector is a key contributor to the significant stock of social capital among the youth in the Western Cape Province. This survey concluded that the current programmes did not increase youth social capital to the required level to impact their development. The findings of this study demonstrated that whilst youth have social capital, the low utilisation and impact of the public sector programmes disproves the above hypothesis. However, the social capital evidenced in this study by youth was mainly familial bonding social capital that meets survival and basic needs and was unable to assist youth to leverage out of poverty.

The potential for government interventions and programmes in the formation and increasing youth social capital is viable as long as it is scripted and implemented in line with the Synergy perspective.

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ANNEXURE A

For full Annexure, open pdf file below:



Final Thesis -
ANNEXURE A.pdf

Western Cape Population Unit
Descriptive - South Africa by Province and Municipality
Geography, Population group and Gender by Age
for Person weighted
Data from Stats SA, Census 2001

Table 1: Beaufort West: Age by gender and population group

Table 2: Manenburg: Age by gender and population group

Gender by population group	Age categories							
	0-14		15-18		19-25		15-34	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black African								
Male	338	0,73	83	0,18	132	0,29	382	0,83
Female	269	0,58	122	0,26	182	0,39	520	1,12
Coloured								
Male	7148	15,46	1935	4,18	2495	5,40	7348	15,89
Female	7089	15,33	1879	4,06	2709	5,86	7899	17,08
Indian or Asian								
Male	12	0,03	3	0,01			12	0,03
Female	3	0,01	6	0,01	3	0,01	15	0,03
White								
Male	-		3	0,01	6	0,01	12	0,03
Female	6	0,01	3	0,01	6	0,01	9	0,02
Grand Total	14865	32,15	4034	8,72	5533	11,97	16196	35,03

(% from total population where N=46,237)

ANNEXURE B

Situational Analysis of Youth Challenges and the areas in the Western Cape:

The youth in the Western Cape face similar challenges to the youth in the rest of South Africa. Yet there are certain risk behaviours and problems supported by research that indicate a higher incidence of gangs, alcohol abuse, Foetal Alcohol Syndrome, drug abuse, living with non-family members, school based violence, youth trials and youth neglect linked to substance abuse.

In the second South African National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey 2008 released in 2010 it was reported that Western Cape teenagers have more sex, use more drugs, drink more alcohol and are more violent than their counterparts in the rest of the country (The Argus, 2010).

Youth Population

The youth population (14 to 35 years) in the Western Cape was recorded to be 1,852,469 in Census 2011 (STATSSA, 2011). The bulk of the 2.5m (66%) youth reside in the Metropolitan area of Cape Town City. The remainder is distributed through the province with 4% and less than 2% per district. The latest census data confirm that 58% of the youth were born in the Western Cape, 20% in the Eastern Cape, 7% in other parts of South Africa and 5% outside the country. The Western Cape Province also has the second highest migration rate, Gauteng has the highest (Census, 2011).

Youth poverty

Poverty has a huge impact on youth life chances and network opportunities. These 6 areas in the study demonstrate poverty at many levels and is intergenerational. Just under 1 million children in the Western Cape live off social grants (child support, foster care and care dependency grants). Thirty two percent of the children living in households with a monthly income of R604 live in poverty (Children's Institute, 2013). In June 2015 the figures were relatively unchanged: out of 1 454 260 grants, 989 711 children's grants (946 788 child support, 30 720 foster care and 12 203 care dependency grants) were in payment (SASSA, 2015).

The Medical Research and the Human Sciences Research Council reported that 16% of families in the Western Cape experience hunger on a regular basis (SANHANESI, 2013).

15% Of young people under the age of 18 years live in households where there is no working adult (Children's Institute, 2013).

Youth and Families

Families are the central cornerstone of a young person's life. Family life, structure and composition have a great influence on a youth's behaviour. In the Western Cape, 40% of youth at school have a 2 parent family whilst 32% has a single parent, 24% live with another family member and 4% live with a non-family member (30 720 foster care grants). From April 2005 to April 2015 the number of foster children had increased from 24 482 to 30 720. The last statistic is higher than the country low of 0.5%. Over 30% of young people report that a parent or caregiver has served jail time. Just under a quarter live in households where someone uses drugs and 15% report a family member who is a gang member (DSSPA, 2005; Burton, 2012; Pero, 2013; SASSA, 2015).

Youth and Education

Less than 30% of the youth population in the Western Cape under the age of 20 years has matric. Lam et al (2006:2) reports on a study that out of the matric passes – 86% White, 42% Coloured and 29% African youth were successful in 2005. The school drop-out rate in the Western Cape has been reported to be 48% consistently over the past 10 years (DSSPA, 2005; WCED, 2013).

Of those who pass matric, a third received a university entrance pass. This has dropped from 44% in 2005. A 2013 study reports that 8% of graduates from the Western Cape are unemployed after 3 years. The University of the Western Cape and CPUT has a higher unemployment rate than UCT and US. The study also found that in the 8% - Africans accounted for 23% whilst Coloureds and Whites each accounted for 9%. The study reported higher levels of part-time work and self-employment (WCED, 2005; CHEC, 2013; PERO, 2013).

Youth and Health

Youth in poor communities suffer as a result of 2 foundational conditions. In the Western Cape, 20.7% of the under 5 year old children have stunted growth and 5.6% are severely stunted due to poor nutrition. Secondly, due to mothers drinking during pregnancy, the Western Cape has the highest Foetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) globally with 46 in every 1000 births having FAS symptoms. This is particularly evident in the wine producing areas of the Western Cape, where farmworkers were paid in allocations of alcohol as part of their

wages (London, 1999; UNICEF, 2012). There are also high rates of child neglect as a result of substance abuse.

Western Cape youth also has a high incidence of mental illness, 15% based on treatment admissions and 44% are at risk for mental health problems (UNODC, 2012). In 2009 CAPS (Cape Area Panel Study) found that 30% of African females and 10% African male respondents aged between 20 – 30 years were HIV infected. The estimated 2011 national HIV prevalence was 17.3%, with the age group 25 – 29 years being most affected. In 2011, the Western Cape Provincial HIV prevalence amongst antenatal women was 18.2% (DOH, 2012). At present, the exact number of Aids orphans is not known because extended families are able to absorb many of them.

The Western Cape has a 5% evidence of abortions for women under the age of 20 years. It also has a teenage pregnancy and teenage parent rate of 10% and 14% respectively for youth under 20 years (PERO, 2013).

Youth and Crime

School based violent victimisation rates is 28.7% in the Western Cape and 10% of learners report sexual assaults. Children awaiting trial during the 2010/11 reporting period was 624, the highest rate, 642, was in Gauteng. During the same period, trials in the child justice courts were 1393 in the Western Cape, the highest in the country, the second highest number was KZN, 597 (Annual Report, 10/11, Department of Justice; Burton and Leoschut, 2013).

There are an estimated 47 gangs in the Metropolitan area of Cape Town. In poor communities in this study it is reported that 14% of learners have a family member as a gang member, siblings in prison had an incidence rate of 24% and self-reported gang membership was 3% (Burton, 2012).

Youth and Substance Abuse

Youth in the Western Cape consumed alcohol before sex with a reported incidence of 36.5% while the national average was 16.2% and 71% of learners reported drinking alcohol beyond the initial experimentation (MRC, 2010). Admissions for treatment for methamphetamine addiction for youth in the Western Cape in 2006, was 73%. In 2011 according to the Medical Research Council it dropped to 39% (Plüdderman and Parry, 2012). The UNODC reported on a study of risk behaviours among Grade 8 to 10 learners in the Western Cape. 44% Of the learners were sexually active, 27.6% were regular smokers and 22.4% daily drinkers.

This same study revealed that of the learners, 10% reported regular cannabis use and 2.5% admitted to be hard drug users (2012).

Youth and Employment

The Western Cape Province's unemployment rate was 25.4% in 2013 (STATSSA, 2013). Unemployment figures dropped slightly from the 26% recorded between 2008 and 2011. Coloureds make up the bulk of the Western Cape labour force (53%), then Africans (28%) and Whites (19%). Employment in the low skill sectors is contracting whilst employment in higher skills sector has grown slightly. Within the youth under the age of 25 years the rate of unemployment was 48%. The bulk of the unemployed youth are in the Metropolitan area of Cape Town (Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Gugulethu and Manenberg), in the Central Karoo (Beaufort West) and in the Southern Cape (Oudtshoorn). Youth unemployment has increased by 5.9% per annum between 2008 and 2013 (Western Cape Government, 2013).

Youth and Disability

The South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) has the following statistics on disabilities for the youth. The care dependency grant is the disability grant provided to the children. In the age cohort 15 – 18 years, there are 33 197 beneficiaries nationally receiving this grant. In the Western Cape there are 2 434 care dependency grant beneficiaries. The young adults receive a disability grant nationally. There is 93 187 beneficiaries in the age cohort 19 – 25 years of which the Western Cape has 10 623 beneficiaries within this number (SASSA data, 2015).

ANNEXURE C

COMMUNITY PROFILES

The researcher will now overlay this situational analysis given the above on the population and demographic sketch of the 6 areas of this study.

The researcher had identified three nodal areas: Beaufort West, Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain, and 3 non-nodal areas: Gugulethu, Manenberg and Oudtshoorn. The researcher will just provide a brief sketch of each area. The researcher bases this section on the Western Cape Provincial Population Unit (2013) and Census 2011 data (STATSSA, 2014).

Beaufort West:

This local municipality is a rural community in the Central Karoo District. It is approximately 450km from Cape Town. The total population is 49 586 persons. The population breakdown is as follows: young (0 – 14years) 31.5%, working age (15 – 64years) 62.6% and the elderly (65+) is 5.9%. The educational status in this community is as follows: no schooling for persons over the age of 20+ is 23.6% and persons with Higher Education, is at 6.5% of the population.

During the 2001 census, it was recorded that 44% of the Beaufort West youth labour force was unemployed. The 2011 census conducted by Statistics South Africa (2014) revealed that the formal unemployment rate is 25.5% and the youth unemployment rate is 34.5%. This figure is based on persons who are actively seeking employment. Many unemployed have not searched for work for more than 2 – 5 years in this area.

This community's population has a gender split of 48% males compared to 52% females. There are also 37.7% female headed households in Beaufort West (DSD WC, 2013; STATSSA, 2014).

Gugulethu:

In the City of Cape Town's data set (SDI & GIS, 2013) based on the 2011 census data Gugulethu is still referred to as an apartheid township with a population size of 98 468. 98.6% Of the population is African with a gender split of 49% male and 51% female.

The age structure of Gugulethu is as follows: 14 years and younger is 25%, working age (15 – 64 years) is 70.4% and over 65 years totals 3.7%.

In terms of educational achievements for the over 20 years of age respondents, no schooling was reported to be 2.2%. 31.4% Completed matric and 5.7% had higher education.

The unemployment rate for Gugulethu is 39.6%. In 2001, 28% of household heads reported being unemployed. In 2011, 52% of the citizens lived in informal dwellings. 71% Of the households have a monthly income of R3200 or less. 19.3% Of the households reported no income (DSD WC, 2013; STATSSA, 2014).

Khayelitsha:

The population size of Khayelitsha is 391 749. The City of Cape Town (2013) refers to households in Khayelitsha as a population “mainly living in collective living quarters” because of the density. 46.3% Of the population live in informal dwellings. The gender split is 51.1% female and 48.9% male.

The population structure is disaggregated as follows: 0 – 14 years constitutes 28.1%, working age (15 – 64 years) 70.2% and older persons (65+ years) is 1.6%. The educational forecast for Khayelitsha results in the following: no schooling in the over 20 year old category is 2.6%. 30.7% Completed matric and 4.9% completed higher education. The population is 98.62% African.

The unemployment rate for Khayelitsha is 38.02%. The census data also provided information on monthly income per household, bearing in mind the earlier assertion of collective living quarters, to be R3200 or less for 74% of the households in Khayelitsha. 18.8% Of the households responded no income (DSD WC, 2013; STATSSA, 2014).

Manenberg:

The population size for Manenberg is 52 877. The gender split is 52.24% female and 47.76% male. The age categories of the Manenberg population are broken down as follows: 28.4% is under 14 years of age, 65.6% are of working age (15 to 64 years) and the elderly is 6%. The major population groups are coloured (84.27%) and African (11.69%).

The Manenberg community represents the following educational status in its “over 20 years” population: no schooling is 1.7%, 22.2% have completed matric and 3.9% have tertiary education.

The unemployment rate for Manenberg is 36.2%. 61% Of the working class households have an income of R3 200 or less per month. 12% Of households have no income. 8.6% Of the population lives in informal dwellings. The area reports high levels of local gang activities (DSD WC, 2013; STATSSA, 2014).

Mitchell's Plain:

Mitchell's Plain has a population of 310 485. The gender split is 48% males and 52% females. The age categories for Mitchell's Plain are represented as follows: 14 years and under is 27.5%, the working age (15 – 64 years) is 68.4% and the elderly is 4.1%. The Coloured population is the majority at 90.8%.

The educational status for the 20+ years resulted in the following findings: no schooling 1.1%, Grade 12 completion 28.6% and higher education achievement 5.9%.

The unemployment rate is 24.13%. 38% Of the households have an income of R 3200 per month or less. 10.4% recorded no income compared to 2001 census when it was 19%. This area is reported to have serious drug related problems (DSD WC, 2013; STATSSA, 2014).

Oudtshoorn:

According to census 2011 the population of Oudtshoorn is 95 933. The population age construction is as follows: under 14 years of age 28.7%, working age (15 – 64 years) 64.2% and the elderly is 7.2%. There are 36.2% female headed households. 88.5% Live in formal dwellings.

The educational status of the over 20 year olds is 4.5% no schooling, matriculated 25.1% and higher education 6.7%.

The unemployment rate is 25.3%, while youth unemployment is 35.9% (DSD WC, 2013; STATSSA, 2014).

ANNEXURE D

Existing Public Sector Programmes focusing on Youth Development

In the Western Cape provincial government each of its departments contributes towards youth development.

Department of Health

The core of this department's contribution to youth is primary health care consisting of a community based and home based care programmes. This was a vital cog in the governments' response to people suffering with Aids. Young women and men were trained to participate in this programme. It entailed home visits to the person with the purpose of bathing, feeding and medicating. The health department spent R 116 million on the pharmaceutical response to the Aids pandemic and R 50 million to the community based care programme in the 2005/06 financial year (PGWC Budget Statement, 2005/06).

Department of Education

The department at a national and a provincial level, in order to embrace the human rights culture of participative planning and problem solving at school level, introduced the School Governing Bodies (SGB) and Learner Representative Councils. The promotion of the Provincial School Governing Bodies brings together the various SGB structures in the Western Cape. The umbrella structure provides member structures with opportunities for engaging with government on education policy and launching projects and programmes that can improve the quality of education governance and education in general. The promotion of the Provincial Representative Council of Learners to was to facilitate the involvement of learners in education policy development initiatives and community development programmes, as well as the facilitation for better school management. The budget for these programmes was combined in the 2005/06 financial year totaling R 3 million (PGWC Budget Statement, 2005/06).

Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism

The youth focus programmes in this department was the Job Seekers Centres and the RED Door. The job seekers centres was a small office in the local municipality which provided youth with career choices, counselling was available as well as business and job opportunities. The RED Door (Real Enterprise Development) was an incubation programme for youth entrepreneurs. It assisted youth with business skills and marketing opportunities.

As well as connecting the potential entrepreneurs to opportunities for seed funding or start-up capital. The 2005/06 budget for the job seekers centres was R 6.2 million and the RED Door was R 1.9 million (PGWC Budget Statement, 2005/06).

Department Transport and Public Works

The department, on the National government instruction as the overall convener initiated the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP). This programme targeted the unemployed, specifically youth. The programme was specifically designed for youth, it is a work opportunity with training, on the job experience and a stipend provided for a period of 24 months. In the programme allocated numbers were given to the different clusters, the social cluster and the economic cluster. The social cluster EPWP recipients stayed in the programme for 3 years which led to permanent employment and did not exit the programme. The budget in the 2005/06 financial year was R 54 million. The target was 30 000 work opportunities over a 3 year medium term expenditure framework period (PGWC Budget Statement, 2005/06).

Department of Social Development

The department had 16 district offices. As a response to transforming its services it set up community consultative fora with structures, older persons" forums, disability forums and youth forums. The overarching structure was called the District Transformation Council. The consultative forum also had a programme budget. In the 2005/06 financial year R 5.2 million was budgeted for youth development (PGWC Budget Statement, 2005/06).

Department of Community Safety

The Bambanani programme targeted youth from poor vulnerable communities, particularly the areas in this research thesis. Young people were trained in first aid, crowd control and marshalling. They are used at big public events and work with police in areas where youth crime, substance abuse and gangs are high. They were referred to as volunteers but received a stipend and were identified by wearing a uniform. The budget for this programme in 2005/06 financial year was R 7.8 million (PGWC Budget Statement, 2005/06).

Department of Local Government and Housing

This department employed youth in municipalities as Community Development Workers (CDWs). Their work involved being a resource to communities by providing information in order to access all government programmes. During the 2005/06 financial year 400 CDWs were employed and the programme cost was R 10 million (PGWC Budget Statement, 2005/06).

Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport

The key youth programme was the provision of libraries. The libraries served as a literature resource but also a place for youth to access information about careers, job vacancies and study material. In poor communities, townships and rural areas, libraries were mainly mobile. The total budget for libraries was R 53 million in the 2005/06 financial year. The mobile libraries are called Wheelie Wagons and in 2005/06 financial year out of the global libraries budget of R 53 million, R 12 million was for Wheelie Wagons.

The sport component of this department's youth focus is the Siyandlala Mass Participation programme which included school sport at a cost of R 4.2 million in 2005/06.

The specialised sport incubation programme for youth in sporting codes which could lead to national colours or a profession is Sport Stepping Stones. Youth are identified at schools, particularly focusing on disadvantaged schools and universities by specialized full-time assistants to identify talent and nurture them. The budget for this programme was R 12 million in the 2005/06 financial year (PGWC Budget Statement, 2005/06).

Department of Agriculture

This department targeted mainly rural youth whose parents worked on farms or they were in casual work on farms. The Farm Workers Development and Landcare Programme provided training in a wide range of professions on farms for example, sommeliers, viticulturists, land cultivation, etc. The annual target in the 2005/06 financial year was 1000 youth at a cost of R10.1 million (PGWC Budget Statement, 2005/06).

Department of the Premier

The key youth programme driven from the centre for youth, included the youth commission, annual youth parliamentary day, co-ordinating the human rights programmes and reports. The provincial internship and learnerships was also co-ordinated from the department of the premier. Departments were allocated numbers dependent on the need and available budgets. In 2005/06 the province had 500 internships and 800 learnerships. The youth commission which was set up to engage youth on a range of issues, organises youth events and develop the status on youth report had a budget of R 4.9 million in 2005/06 financial year.

The human rights component which reported and addressed issues on gender and people with disabilities in the Premier's department had a budget of R 7.7 million for the 2005/06

financial year. This component dealt with human rights reporting to various Chapter 9 institutions of national government namely, the Gender Commission and the Human Rights Commission (PGWC Budget Statement, 2005/06).

Department of Justice

This department is a national department with an extensive provincial footprint. The work of this department when it comes to children and youth is integral to the provincial department of social development. The child commissioner conducts the legal process based on social workers reports on adoptions, foster care and institutional care. There are 20 child commissioners in the Western Cape. This programme had a budget of R 16 million in 2005/06 (Annual Report: Department of Justice, 2005/06).

ANNEXURE E

Social Capital Programmes of the Provincial Government with Emphasis on the Youth

These interventions were proposed and in some cases piloted as potential programmes to support social capital formation. It was a decision based on the social capital strategy prepared by the department of social development for the province in 2005 to test the existing programmes for youth identified under section 2.7.3 before embarking either on massification or new proposals. The way in which they experience the interaction with the officials and the content of the programme and finally whether impact was made demonstrating linking social capital leading to youth development.

Department of Social Development

- Brawan Siswam programme: „Brawam-Siswam“ meaning „my brother, my sister“. The objective of the pilot programme was to identify what networks are available for young people to decrease the current school drop-out rate of 50% between Grade 10 and 12. The programmes consist of student mentors to school learners.
- CYT (Certificate in Youth Training) is an organisation that focuses on leadership and skills development in respect of youth. The department funds CYT to run different programmes for the youth.
- Youth focal units at District offices would provide a safe environment where youth seeking jobs, can attain life skills and information on availability of jobs at the district offices.
- Ethical Leadership training workshops.
- Youth internships and learnerships at the Department itself and at funded NGOs to empower 3 800 youth with skills to enter the open labour market through learnerships and internships.
- Intergenerational programmes.
- Establishment of a Wolwekloof Youth Academy in cooperation with the Boland District Municipality for accredited courses and on the job training.
- Funding for specific, not generic, NGOs providing services to youth.
- Western Cape Ministerial Advisory Council on Social Development Services. One of the objectives of the Council would be to act as a consultative forum between the Minister and civil society and to advise on matters relating to social development services in this instance, youth issues. This would replace the current fora which lacked integration.

Department of Community Safety

- Youth Leaders Against Crime, in which the DCS recruits youth from areas affected by serious and violent crimes and provides leadership and developmental training;
- Youth Peace Academy Clubs, where the Department provides funding to an NGO which encourages school learners to join clubs which teach the youth about the rule of law, democracy and citizenship;
- The Drug Reduction Project, which identifies young people using drugs and assists them in accessing treatment and counselling services as well as increasing awareness of the dangers of experimenting with drugs. This project would be a joint initiative of the DCS, DSSPA, NGOs, the Central Drug Authority and a range of other departments.

Department of Housing

- More generally, mixed use neighbourhoods will be promoted as a means of ensuring that areas are people-friendly and safe by night.
- To promote bridging and linking social capital, the province will encourage mixed-income neighbourhoods, as well as neighbourhoods in which newer immigrants and those who have lived longer in the province can learn to live and work together.
- The Isidima⁴ strategy which is a partnership with organised civil society from the inception to completion of new sustainable human settlement development.

Department of Health

- Quality basic health services are provided at a primary care level in an accessible, efficient and appropriate manner. Also providing sex education and HIV/Aids awareness programmes.
- The department makes appropriate use of existing social capital by promoting linkages between communities and government which allow communities to advocate for the delivery of equitable and professional health care services.

Department of Education

- Promoting the establishment of a Retired Teachers' Association so as to give retired teachers the opportunity to become involved in education development initiatives in schools and within the community.

Isidima⁴ - New community-based housing programme

- The Truancy Reduction Project is a school-based project aimed at combating crime, as well as limiting the growth of gangs. The project is a joint venture between the Safe Schools initiative of the Western Cape Department of Education and the DCS.

Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport

- The Department will organise cultural evenings in the nodal areas. These events are open to the general public but biased towards youth, it would provide participants with meaningful and enjoyable activities as an alternative to engaging in crime.
- The Department will support small-scale festivals in different areas as a way of promoting the diverse cultures of the Western Cape and so enhancing bridging social capital. It will, in similar vein, promote the equal status of the three official languages of the province English, Afrikaans and Xhosa, in particular by providing support for initiatives in respect of isiXhosa.
- The Public Holiday programmes ensure that remembrance days are acknowledged and would be used to affirm diversity and bring communities together.
- The Heritage in Young Hands ambassador programme is a civic education initiative that imbues a sense of pride in the young people of the province.
- Like other departments, the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport works with volunteers both in the sports arena, cultural areas, in conservation bodies, friends of museums and libraries association.
- Government to establish an old instruments bank to facilitate provision of musical instruments to children and youth from poor communities.
- The Wheelie Wagon programme helps to extend library services to the more rural areas of the province.
- The Sport Stepping Stones project is a unique example of a programme that promotes social capital. The project involves a system of learnerships which places fulltime sport assistants in disadvantaged schools.
- The department has increased its activities in the area of school sport. Firstly, it continues to provide facilities and financial support for school games, particularly in poorer areas and schools.

Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning

- The department proposed a youth programme to create work in conservation and biodiversity management.

Department of Transport and Public Works

- The department's social capital formation initiative was to collect a database of unemployed youth with a purpose of connecting youth to appropriate training and work opportunities.
- The department also proposed a bursary programme focusing on the shortage of engineers to assist in the built environment particular attention being paid to the skills shortage in road construction.

Department of Agriculture

- The department proposed taking its farmworker development programme to a linking social capital level by introducing a farmer settlement programme. This would entail identification of specific youth, training would be provided and ultimately, land would be provided for potential youth farmers.
- The department also proposed a plan to mobilise private organisations to provide bursaries for youth from poor communities to study food production and processing, wine making and cellar technology.

Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism

- The department developed an economic strategy that earmarked particular sectors, one of them being the film industry and sort to identify youth to be trained in various support functions for this industry.

ANNEXURE F

For full Annexure, open pdf file below:



Final Thesis -
ANNEXURE F.pdf

SV no		Questionnaire no			
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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION
MEASURING SOCIAL CAPITAL AMONG YOUTH IN 6 AREAS IN THE WESTERN CAPE

Fieldworker I.D.	
Supervisor	
Geographical area	
1. Khayelitsha 2. Mitchell's Plain 3. Manenberg 4. Guguletu 5. Beaufort West 6. Oudtshoorn	
Ward number	
Type of Settlement <i>Fieldworker: see p23 for definition on settlement type</i> 1. Formal residential unit 2. Informal residential unit	
Unit Address	
<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	
Sample realization	
1. As sampled 2. Replaced	
Number of questionnaires per household _____	
Age category of respondent	
1. 15-18 yrs 2. 19-25 yrs	
Household size	
<i>Fieldworker: see p23 for definition on a household</i>	

Introduction

My name is _____ and I am employed as a fieldworker by the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation. We are currently busy with a research project measuring social capital amongst the youth in six areas in the Western Cape, of which your area is one. The first few questions in the questionnaire gather information on all the people living in your household. The greater part of the questions however focuses on you as a youth and your opinion on different issues. We regard these interviews as highly confidential and you can be assured that your name will not be revealed or linked to any responses given in the interview. The interview will take approximately 20 minutes.

SECTION B: EDUCATION SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

Q9 What is the highest educational level that you have completed?

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| 0. No formal education | 11. Gr 11/ St 9 |
| 1. Gr 1/ Sub A | 12. Gr 12/ St 10 |
| 2. Gr 2/ Sub B | 13. Further education training certificate (FET) |
| 3. Gr 3/ St 1 | 14. Diploma with matric |
| 4. Gr 4/ St 2 | 15. Diploma without matric |
| 5. Gr 5/ St 3 | 16. Technikon degree |
| 6. Gr 6/ St 4 | 17. University degree |
| 7. Gr 7/ St 5 | 18. Don't know |
| 8. Gr 8/ St 6 | 19. Refused |
| 9. Gr 9/ St 7 | 20. Adult education/ literacy classes |
| 10. Gr 10/ St 8 | Other, specify: _____ |

10 Are you currently at school/ attending an educational institution?

1. Yes go to Q11
2. No go to Q. 13

Q11 What is the name of the school / educational institution you are currently attending?

Fieldworker: Please record name

Name of institution: _____

If not school, course attending: _____

Q12 What is the location of the school/ educational institution?

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| 1. Khayelitsha | 4. Manenberg |
| 2. Gugulethu | 5. Beaufort West |
| 3. Mitchell's Plain | 6. Oudtshoorn |
| Other, specify: _____ | |

Q15.3 Why were you not looking for a job? *Fieldworker: please do not read the options. Circle only one option.*

1. Already employed
2. There are no jobs available/ discouraged by the lack of jobs / too many people are looking for work
3. It is too expensive to look for work (printing CV's, postage money, traveling costs, ect.)
4. I cannot be bothered/ I don't care
5. I don't have time/ too busy at home
6. At school/ studying full time
7. Don't need the money
8. Don't know

Other, specify: _____

SECTION D: SOCIAL COHESIO

Q16 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement - 1 is strongly agree and 4 is strongly disagree. I enjoy living in this area . refer here to

Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4

Q17 How do the following issues affect the lives of young people in your area? <i>Fieldworker indicate for each item</i>	Do not affect at all	Has some effect	Has a big effect
Q17.1.1 Substance abuse	1	2	3
Q17.1.2 Teenage pregnancy	1	2	3
Q17.1.3 Violence and crime	1	2	3
Q17.1.4 Gangsterism	1	2	3
Q17.1.5 Poverty & Unemployment	1	2	3
Q17.1.6 HIV/AIDS	1	2	3
Q17.1.7 Sexual abuse/rape	1	2	3
Q17.1.8 Domestic violence	1	2	3
Q17.1.9 Lack of safety at school	1	2	3
Q17.1.10 Lack of education	1	2	3
Q17.1.11 Lack of parental support	1	2	3
Q17.1.12 Lack of recreational activities	1	2	3
Q17.1.13 Lack of safety and protection	1	2	3
Q17.1.14 Lack of infrastructure	1	2	3
Q17.1.15 Lack of trust of the community towards young people	1	2	3
Q.17.1.16 Peer group pressure	1	2	3

EVERYONE				
Q18. Would/ do you do the following things? Fieldworker indicate for each item.	No, never	No, but would if I had a chance	Yes, but only if I know the person	Yes, in general
Q18.1 Do you offer your help or time to help people other than your family (i.e. going to the shop for older people, babysitting, watering gardens)?	1	2	3	4
Q18.2 Do you get up in the bus / train and offer your seat if an older person enters?	1	2	3	4
Q18.3 Do you look after your neighbour's children if they need somebody to help out?	1	2	3	4
Q18.4 If one of your neighbours has a flat tyre would you help out?	1	2	3	4
Q18.5 If there is a cultural celebration in your community, do you join it?	1	2	3	4
Q18.6 If somebody from your community needed a lift and you had a car, would you help them out and give them a lift?	1	2	3	4

Q19 If you or your household found yourself in any of the following situations, who/ what would be the first person/ place you would go to for help?	Q19.1	Q19.2	Q19.3	Q19.4	Q19.5
	Gone without food	No cash income	Is sick	Victim of crime	Substance abuse problems
<p><i>Fieldworker: Write code for selected item in each column</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A friend 2. One or both parents 3. A family member 4. A religious leader/ pastor 5. A social worker 6. A teacher at school 7. Neighbour 8. Police 9. Clinic 10. Pharmacy 11. Doctor 12. Traditional healer/Sangoma 13. NGO 14. No one, went without any help <p>Other, specify: _____</p>					

SECTION E: YOUTH NETWORKS/PARTICIPATION

<p>Q20 Do you have a family member with whom you have a special trusting relationship?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes <i>(go to Q20.1)</i> 2. No <i>(go to Q21)</i>
<p>IF YES</p> <p>Q 20.1 Does this person live nearby?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes, in the same house 2. Yes, in another place 3. No
<p>Q 20.2 How often do you visit him/her</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Everyday 2. Several times a week (not every day) 3. Several times a month (not more than once a week) 4. Several times a year (not more than once a month) 5. Less often

EVERYONE			
Q24.1 Do you have a friend who has a different first language to you?			
1. Yes			
2. No			
Q 24.2 Do you have a friend who practices a different religion to yours?			
1. Yes			
2. No			
Q 24.3 Do you have a friend who is not from the same ethnic group as you?			
1. Yes			
2. No			
Q24.4 Does your family socialize with people who practice a different religion to your family?			
Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
1	2	3	4
Q24.5. Does your family socialize with people who are not from the same ethnic group as your family?			
Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
1	2	3	4

Q25 Are you a member of, or do you participate in any of the following associations, organizations or clubs? <i>Fieldworker indicate for each item.</i>	Yes	No
Q25.1 Religious group	1	2
Q25.2 Trade union	1	2
Q25.3 Group that does things for the community	1	2
Q25.4 Local self-help association (stokvel, burial society, gooi-gooi)	1	2
Q25.5 Neighbourhood watch or street committee	1	2
Q25.6 Group concerned with local matters such as schools, sports fields, libraries, women's group, etc.	1	2
Q25.7 Sports club or organization	1	2
Q25.8 NGO or CBO programmes	1	2
Q25.9 Recreational social club (e.g. needlework, knitting, choir, hip-hop clubs, girl guide clubs)	1	2
Q25.10 A political party	1	2
Other, specify: _____		

Q26 If you are not a member, or do not participate IN ANY of the above associations, organizations or clubs, why not? *Fieldworker: do not read options to respondent. Indicate only one item*

1. Don't know of any such organizations, associations or clubs
2. Membership costs are too expensive
3. Can't afford to travel costs to attend meetings or activities
4. Not interested

Other, please, specify: _____

Q27 How would you rate social and leisure facilities for youth in this area?				
Very good	Good	Average	Poor	Very poor
1	2	3	4	5

Q28 What is the effect of the following on the lives of young people in this area?	Strong negative effect	Negative effect	No effect	Positive effect	Strong positive effect
Q28.1.1 Gangs	1	2	3	4	5
Q28.1.2 Drinking clubs	1	2	3	4	5
Q28.1.3 Gossiping	1	2	3	4	5
Q28.1.4 Corner boys	1	2	3	4	5
Q28.1.5 Game shops	1	2	3	4	5
Q28.1.6 Shopping malls	1	2	3	4	5

Fieldworker: only ask for those indicated as having a big negative effect

Q28.2 How can this negative effect be reduced?

Q29. Please name the main sources from which you get information regarding government services?

Fieldworker: No more than 3 options

1. Radio
2. SABC television
3. E-TV
4. Newspapers
5. Internet
6. Family
7. Friends
8. School
9. NGOs / CBOs
10. Neighbours
11. Community (see definition on p 23)

Other, specify _____

Q30. Sometimes community members take action to show their concern for an issue. Please tell me if you have taken part in any of the following actions in the past 24 months.

	No, never	No, but would if I had a chance	Yes, once	
Q30.1 Attended a community meeting				4
Q30.2 Got together with others in order to raise an issue	1	2		
Q30.3 Attended a demonstration/ protest march				
Q30.4 Signed a petition <i>p.</i>				
Q30.5 Joined a boycott <i>p.</i>	1			4
Q30.6 Joined a strike (see <i>p.23</i>)		2		
Q30.7 Occupied a building or factory			3	
Q30.8 Attended IMBIZO				
Q30.9 Voted in national or local elections				
Q30.10 Did voluntary work in your community				
Q30.11 Other, please specify: _____				

SECTION F: TRUST

see p23 for definition on trust

Q31. Please state whether you agree or disagree with the following statements below

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Q31.1 Generally speaking most people living in your area can be trusted.	1	2	3	4	5
Q31.2 In general people living in your area would try, given the chance, to take advantage of you.	1	2	3	4	5
Q31.3 People in your area will generally help each other out.	1	2	3	4	5
Q31.4 If people in your area saw someone breaking into your house, they would do something to try and stop it.	1	2	3	4	5
Q31.5 People in your area would keep an eye on your home if you were away for a time.	1	2	3	4	5
Q31.6 People who move to this area and speak the same language are easily accepted into the community opposed to people who speak a different language.	1	2	3	4	5
Q31.7 People tend to frequently move in and out of my immediate area.	1	2	3	4	5

Q32. Who would you prefer to talk to if you had a problem?

1. A friend
2. One or both of your parents
3. A family member / spouse
4. A religious leader/pastor
5. A social worker
6. A NGO worker
7. A teacher at school
8. Would prefer to speak to a stranger
9. I would not speak to anybody, and keep the problem to myself

Other, specify: _____

Q 37 What are the 3 most urgent issues within service delivery that have to change?

Fieldworkers: Do not read to respondent

1. Accessibility
2. Staff attitude
3. Quality of services
4. Programmes relevant to youth's needs
5. Extent to which public servants can be trusted with personal information
6. Access to information about government
7. Under utilization of existing resources

Other, specify _____

Q38.1 Are you aware of the following government Initiatives?			If to		If	
Ask for each If respondent said YES also			Q38.2 Have you		Q38.3 Would you	
ask Q38.2 for corresponding programme/initiative			ever participated		say that the	
			in/ made use of		initiative/	
			service/		programme had a	
			programme?		positive effect in	
					your life?	
Q38.1.1 Community Based Care workers	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.2 School Governing Bodies	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.3 Learner Representative Council	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.4 Expanded Public Work Programme	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.5 District Transformation Council	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.6 Job Seeker Centres	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.7 Internships / Learnerships	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.8 Bambanani	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.9 Community Development workers at Local Government	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.10 Siyadiala MPP	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.11 Sport Stepping Stones	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.12 Red Door	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.13 Wheelie Wagon	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.14 Youth Commission	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.15 Child Commissioner	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.16 Human Rights Commission	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.17 Gender Commission	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
Q38.1.18 Farm Worker Development and Landcare	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No

Q39 What other services/ programmes should government implement or make available to assist youth?

SECTION H: TRUST IN THE FUTURE

Q40 All of us think about the future and what it holds for us from time to time, i.e. what type of work we would like to do one day, if we would like to go and study, etc. Is there someone you can talk to about your future plans and who you trust to give you some guidance?

1. Yes ~~(go to Q40.1)~~
2. No ~~(go to Q41)~~
3. I don't think about the future ~~(go to Q41)~~

Q 40.1 If YES , who is this person?

1. One or both of my parents
2. The counselor or guidance teacher at school
3. A relative
4. A friend
5. Religious leader / pastor

Other, specify: _____

Q41 Other than speaking to individuals regarding your future plans, what is the main resource you use to get information or guidance?

1. Career centre
2. Media (newspapers/television)
3. Internet
4. Local businesses
5. Don't make use of any resource

Other, specify: _____

Q42 What type of information will assist you to make choices about your future?

~~Fieldworker do not read options and only select one.~~

1. Information on various career options
2. Information on educational/ training opportunities
3. Information on possible funding for educational/ training opportunities
4. Guidance on romantic relationships

Other, specify: _____

Q43 If you think about the next five years, what would you like to achieve?

Fieldworker: Circle 1 option preferably if more, not more than 3.

1. Complete school
2. Leave school, without completing matric, and just enjoy my life/ hang around
3. Leave school, without completing matric, and find a job
4. Go to university/ technikon/ college
5. Get a job
6. Get married
7. Have a child
8. To start/ have my own business
9. Move somewhere else, and start my future in a new area
10. I have no goals for this phase
11. Don't know

Other, specify: _____

#1 – 9

Q43.1 How confident are you that you will achieve these goals?

Very confident	Confident	Unsure	Not confident at all
1	2	3	4

IT IS IMPORTANT FOR E TO TELL YOU THAT FOR A SUCCESSFUL CO . PLETION OF THE SURVEY NEED TO ASSESS FRO THE PARTICIPANTS THAT YOU ACTUALLY WERE THE PERSON PARTICIPATING IN THE SURVEY. A SUPERVISOR FRO THE DEPART ENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES WILL DO THIS FOLLOW UP VISIT. THANK YOU VERY UCH FOR YOUR TIME AND PARTICIPATION IN THIS SURVEY

FIELDWORKER EVALUATION

- I declare that I have asked this entire questionnaire as it is laid out and as I have been briefed.
- I declare that all the responses and answers recorded by me in this questionnaire were given to me by the correct respondent.

This questionnaire has been fully checked by myself.

Name and Surname	
Date	
Signature	

Any additional comments about specific questions or data quality?

QUALITY CONTROL RECORD SHEET

Name of quality controller (Supervisor)	
Date of quality check dd/mm/yy	
If any problems: Question numbers and description of problem	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
Date: correction dd/mm/yy	
Final quality signature by coordinator	
Check back: Name	
Check back: Date dd/mm/yy	

ANNEXURE G

1. INTRODUCTION

Discussion groups were used to inform the research of youth's understanding of the concepts and the design of questions for the questionnaire.

Cragan et al (2008:45) advises that discussion groups will consist of facilitators, observers/note-takers, and selected local analysts. The authors also advocate that the facilitator and observer should be experienced in both principles behind the use of group discussions and their practical use. The facilitator should be able to keep the discussion on the subject and prevent individuals from dominating the discussion. A tape recorder is also advised as being useful to record the actual discussion, but the analysts have to get prior consent for it to be used. This is a participative method that relies on interaction and involvement of participants for its success. In discussion groups, the group explores a specific topic or issue by analysing, evaluating or reviewing subject matter. Participants need to enjoy the flexibility, informality, and opportunity to contribute. Discussion is a valuable method of problem solving, decision making, and brainstorming issues that occur in committees and staff meetings (American Society for Training and Development (ASTD), 2001).

Formal discussion groups are debates. They are characterised by strict rules (designated response time and restricted length of response) and are often directed by group facilitators. Informal discussions are not controlled by rules or leaders and discussion may flow without any structured direction or planning (Cragan et al, 2008).

The researcher adapted the framework presented by Onya and Flisher (2004) to underpin the process elements of the discussions for the discussion groups.

The nine steps outlined by the authors are as follows:

- conducting a social influence analysis
- identifying the specific discussion group
- designing discussion group guide
- choosing the participants for the discussion groups
- selecting discussion group moderators/facilitators
- training discussion group moderators/facilitators
- conducting the discussion groups
- analysing the data collected

- formulating conclusions to inform the questionnaire

Step one and two have been addressed by the researcher through the theoretical framework developed and the piloting of the discussion groups. The university supervisory sessions also assisted the researcher with the clarity on whether it should be focus groups or discussion groups. The following paragraphs will provide an overview of the other steps. The title of the last step is reformulated as „Questionnaire design“ because the discussion group method is in this case not the final step of the research. In addition to the theory, the discussion groups informed the questionnaire design.

2. DESIGNING THE DISCUSSION GROUP GUIDE

In order to prepare for the discussion groups, the researcher formulated themes listed below in Table 3.3, as a guide for the discussion groups to facilitate data collection of social capital and governments“ existing responses to youth which was the focus of this research.

In further examining the literature, exploratory studies on young people and social capital in the United Kingdom under the auspices of the office for National Statistics, the researcher emerged with a social capital measurement framework. Whiting and Harper (2003) and Deviren and Babb (2005) identified the following dimensions of the measurement framework which have been adapted for this study:

- Social participation
- Civic participation
- Social networks and social support
- Reciprocity and trust, and
- Views of the local area.

The researcher adapted the elements in the dimensions of the framework listed above into a discussion guide consisting of themes, indicators and questions for the discussion groups. The aim of the discussion groups was targeted at whether the questions, linked to the themes against each indicator would stimulate discussion and indicate whether the youth could provide answers to these questions. The outcome of this process laid a template for the questionnaire which was used.

The following table presents the discussion guide which was developed for the discussion groups.

Table 1 The Discussion Guide for the Discussion Groups

Themes	Indicator	Question
1. Needs & Challenges of youth	a) Trust b) Norms c) Reciprocity d) Social Cohesion	1.) What are the challenges youth face today? 2.) What are some of your needs as a young adult? 3.) If you face a problem, who are you most likely to share it with? 4.) Do you think it's good to help others that help you? (Yes/ No) Explain 5.) Do you think friendships are important and why?
2. Existing Youth Networks	a) Trust b) Norms c) Reciprocity d) Social Cohesion	1.) Do you use existing youth structures in your community? If yes, which do you use? If no, motivate 2.) What are some of the organizations you have access to in your community? 3.) Do you volunteer for any organization? If no, why not? 4.) What type of clubs or extra mural activities do you belong to and participate in?
3. Perception of Government Services	a) Trust b) Norms c) Reciprocity d) Social Cohesion	1.) Do you know what government services are available for youth in your area? 2.) Do you think government's services are in line with the needs of youth? 3.) Do you use government services? If yes, which? If no, why not? 4.) Are the services government offers to youth accessible? 5.) Would you encourage friends to use government services available in your community? If yes motivate, if no motivate.
4. Visioning of their future	a) Trust b) Norms c) Reciprocity d) Social Cohesion	1.) Tell me about your dreams for the future? 2.) How confident are you that your vision for the future will come true? 3.) Do you believe that people should help one another „get ahead“ in life? Explain 4.) To what extent do you think the assistance of your friends and family will help you achieve your future vision?

3. CHOOSING THE PARTICIPANTS FOR THE DISCUSSION GROUPS

The age cohort as stipulated in chapter 1 of the study is also in line with the South African governments" definition, which is young men and women between the ages of 14 to 35 years (Western Cape Status on Youth Report, 2008). During the supervisory sessions on the discussion groups in October 2005 it was agreed that the age cohort would be split into two age groups for the research and be reduced to 25 years instead of examining the larger range which would have been 14 to 35 years as defined above. The first age cohort was based on young persons of a school going age (15-18 years). The second age cohort comprises young persons from 19 to 25 years. The first age cohort group's experiences would be very different to the over 19 year olds extending to 25 years. The rationale for

reducing the age cohort to 25 years was that the results of this study would inform interventions which could still have an impact upon the youth who participated in this study.

As already identified in the first chapter of the thesis, youth between the ages of 15 and 25 years from Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Manenberg, Gugulethu, Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn, were sourced by the organisation, Certificate of Youth Trainers (CYT). The following criteria were stipulated in terms of representivity: gender and race. As this is a social capital research study, the sampling technique required the selection of youth that were part of networks as well as youth not involved in networks. CYT had a data base at their offices of youth who belonged to a wide range of networks in communities from religious youth movements to political youth organisations. CYT was requested to select networked youth out of their database from the areas selected. Those young persons selected were asked to bring an un-networked friend. The un-networked participant was someone who did not participate in youth structures. This method of sampling is called snowballing. The size of the discussion groups was guided by Krueger and Casey (2000), Grudens-Schuck, Allen and Larson (2004) and who indicated the size of the discussion groups, "...For the discussion group researchers to select and invite 20 – 25 people with similar characteristics to a single session". The goal was to achieve a minimum of 10 – 12 participants that were similar within the 15 to 18 years and 19 to 25 years, linked to the areas in which the study was then conducted.

Whilst the researcher identified 3 nodal and 3 non nodal areas, there were a total of 8 discussion groups as a result of the vast population size in Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain which had two sessions each instead of one each. A total of 188 youth participated in the 8 discussion groups between 13 December 2005 and 13 January 2006. There were 98 males and 90 females.

An overview with regard to the distribution of gender and age in the various discussion groups in the 6 selected areas is provided.

4. SELECTING DISCUSSION GROUP FACILITATORS

The moderators/facilitators of the discussion groups are the keys for a successful research process. Authors such as Morgan (1997) and Grudens-Schuck, Allen and Larson (2004) refer to moderators as the main actors structuring the discussions in the discussion groups. Gibbs (1997) explains "the role of the moderator or group facilitator becomes critical, especially in terms of providing clear explanations of the purpose of the group, helping people feel at ease and facilitating interaction between group members".

The researcher prefers the term „facilitator“. The researcher selected one Programme Director, four Facilitators, three Scribes (Translators) and was assisted by three persons managing the logistics. The three scribes were fluent in all three languages predominantly used in the Western Cape, Afrikaans, English and Xhosa. Depending on the needs of the specific discussion group and whether translation was required. These individuals were used interchangeably.

The facilitators were selected because of their knowledge of social capital and facilitation experience. The facilitators had experience of working in youth programmes as well as sound communication skills. Each facilitator had a co-facilitator in the group. The co-facilitator was a younger social service professional on a one year contract with DSD. This approach also sought to empower the young professionals and reduce the age gap between the facilitation team and the participants of the discussion groups. The facilitator's role was to use the themes and questions in a structured format as demonstrated in the discussion group guide in Section 3.3.1, allowing for discussion and open exchanges.

The facilitators had to promote the inclusion of less active participants and manage dominant or blocking participants. There was also a requirement to reflect consensus positions for the actual reporting. These reflections could either be the consensus position or recognising the split in the views. Scribes were part of the process to ensure that the record of the session was an accurate reflection of the proceedings. The scribes were also used to translate which allowed the participants to speak in their own language. Other participants were the programme director, The Social Capital Project Manager of DSD and the CYT representative, managing the logistics.

5. TRAINING DISCUSSION GROUP MODERATORS/FACILITATORS

The training of the facilitators, the scribes and the translators was done by the Social Capital Project Manager of DSD, Deputy Director for Strategic Planning and the researcher. Sessions of training were conducted on 6 December 2005 and 12 December 2005. A researcher from DSD trained the group in terms of the ice breakers which were used. The Social Capital Project Manager sketched the principles of discussion groups and the Deputy Director for Strategic Planning taught facilitation tools. The researcher provided the context of the research and social capital theory including the themes and questions of the current study.

6. CONDUCTING THE DISCUSSION GROUP ENGAGEMENTS

Cragan et al (2008) agree that the small group sessions should be between one and two hours to ensure focused concentration. Informed by these guidelines, the researcher devised a programme for the discussion groups as shown below:

Table 2 Discussion group programme

Time	Content	Explanation
9:00 – 9:30	Registration of participants by age and gender (not name and address)	
9:30 – 10:00	Introductory plenary	Introduction to the social capital concept; ethical considerations; youth as a beneficiary of social capital
10:00 – 10:15	Tea break	
10:15 – 11:45	Group work in two groups (15-18 years; 19-25 years)	Themes discussed in the discussion groups: (1) needs & challenges of youth, (2) existing youth networks, (3) perception of government services; (4) visioning of their future
11:45 – 12:00	Break	
12:00 – 12:45	Feedback and concluding plenary	
12:45 – 13:00	Lunch	

A pilot discussion group to test the discussion group guide and the process was held on the 12 December 2005 in Manenberg. The results showed that the discussion group guide as well as the programme could be applied as it had been designed. The pilot also provided the team with the necessary confidence in their ability to engage the youth. The testing of the ice-breakers had the desired impact in that the atmosphere of the session became lively and the participants who did know each other, started interacting with each other. The discussion group process was conducted from 13 December 2005 to 13 January 2006 with 188 young people in six areas: Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Gugulethu, Manenberg, Beaufort West and Oudtshoorn. CYT booked venues in each area for the required four hour period.

Logistics with regard to transportation and the registration on arrival of the participants was managed by CYT. Coffee and muffins were provided during the registration.

7. THE PROCESS OF THE DISCUSSION GROUPS

As earlier indicated, after registration the formal process started with an introductory plenary. The introductory part worked well at all the sessions because it was purely information sharing and ensuring that there was voluntary participation. The groups usually started when

all the participants had arrived with the exception of three occasions where people arrived during the introductory phase. This happened during the sessions in Manenberg, Mitchell's Plain and Beaufort West. As a result of these interruptions, there was repetition as well as late starts affecting the smooth flow of the programme.

The remaining five sessions started on time and the process of the introductory phase proceeded seamlessly. The breaking up into small groups was time consuming as some venues had to be re-organised. This happened during the first session in Khayelitsha and in Beaufort West.

Generally the process of engagement in the discussion groups went well. Only in Mitchell's Plain, three ice-breakers were needed before the discussion group could start. This was as a result of an hour delay due to transport problems. In addition, the hot weather on that day made the mostly quiet young participants feel unsettled. Some of the group members even verbalised that they felt the day could have been better served at the beach. This was truly a test for the facilitation team. The team leader of this session had to re-establish an atmosphere conducive to the flow of work of the discussion group guide, also being mindful of the verbal and non-verbal interaction of the participants. As a result of this interaction, this group took longer to complete the task.

The eight discussion groups were further subdivided into two groups, young age cohort (15 – 18 years) and older age cohort (19 – 25 years). In the final plenary, the two groups were combined for the report back which also reflected two inputs against each question within the theme.

The feedback and the concluding plenary consisted of two parts: the reporting on the actual working sessions and a process of acknowledging the participants' contribution and providing them with information with regard to the process beyond the discussion groups. The researcher, in her planning with the facilitation team, had requested that a participant be identified to be the rapporteur for the group. Invariably it was done by more than one person with one person reading the theme and the question and the other person responding from the newsprint. In other instances, they divided the themes into two themes per person. The facilitator was requested to ask for a volunteer and in most instances there was more than one person willing to participate in this role and the group decided to deal with it in this way. It showed that the discussion group participants had some autonomy in managing aspects of the group process. There was no instance throughout the entire discussion group process where the participants declined the role of reporting.

After the rapporteur of each group had completed their report, comments were solicited from the other participants to add any additional comments before it was confirmed that the written report was indeed a true reflection of the contributions within the session. When additional items were raised, they were written onto the newsprint to show that this would be part of the group sanctioned report.

In the concluding statement the researcher thanked the participants as well as CYT for organising and mobilising the engagement of the participants and for the finalisation of all the arrangements contributing to the event. CYT indicated that once the research was completed their organisation would be involved in the implementation of some of the recommendations and the dissemination of the research report findings. Once the formal processes had been completed lunch was served. During the plenary process the participants expressed gratitude to the team for giving them something to do and think about during the holidays. Others commented that they looked forward to the refreshments.

8. ANALYSING THE DISCUSSION GROUP PROCESS AND DATA

8.1 ANALYSIS OF THE DISCUSSION GROUP PROCESS

The collaboration between the researcher and CYT culminated in securing the 100% completion of the discussion group process. The logistics of the food and the venue were satisfactory. However the venues did not enable a satisfactory audio recording of all the sessions due to the location or lack of power points. In each session the youth were first asked whether the session could be recorded and there were no objections. The researcher experienced some disappointment with regard to this aspect of the process but consoled herself that as indicated in her proposal; the recorded information on the newsprint of each group would serve as the formal record of the discussion. The sessions, although scheduled to start at 9am, only started at either 9:30 or 10:00. The researcher reflected with the logistics team and the facilitation team that as it had been the school holidays, a programme of this nature should have started at 10:00am. This was therefore a limitation in the planning of the discussion groups.

The snowballing sampling method was used and consequently on a few occasions resulted in more than one friend being brought as non-networked youth. "Snowball sampling is a method for identifying and selecting cases in a network" (Neuman, 2003: 214). Neuman further argues that the crucial feature for this technique is that each person or unit is connected with another through a direct or indirect linkage. Babbie (2002) and Cooper and Schindler (2003) define snowball sampling as the process of accumulation as each located subject suggests other subjects. Gibbs (1997) and Cragan et al (2008) note that the

recommended number of people per group session is usually six to ten, or ten to twelve members. In this instance the researcher used the recommended number for her discussion groups. The average attendance was 23 persons per discussion group. After the initial introductory session the group was divided into 2 groups in the two age cohorts consisting of 10 to 12 youth. The author recognises that some researchers have used up to fifteen persons particularly if one meeting with each of the discussion groups is used or even if they have several sessions. The researcher did not ask the additional persons to leave as she was aware that CYT invited extra persons to avoid a situation of too few participants being available which could have resulted in a stalled process.

The translation of the process, themes and questions was to ensure that there was a common understanding of terms, particularly if they were used in Xhosa by the participants. This also assisted with the note taking so that an accurate reflection of the discussion groups could be captured. The translation team was initially a backup for language accessibility. During the process it was discovered that the youth in the discussion groups displayed a good grasp of communicating in the three languages of the Western Cape Province and the translators were mainly needed for the capturing of the discussions in English.

The researcher also noted that during the process of the discussion groups, internal social capital was built between the CYT and the department teams consisting of all role players, facilitators, scribes/translators and logistics personnel. Social capital is essentially about trusting networks that have a positive impact on community. That is why the strengthening of the relationship between this organisation and DSD was important to pursue an agenda for youth development. The researcher partnered experienced facilitators with less experienced facilitators. This aspect ensured a further skills empowerment process for interns, who, as previously explained, were graduates on a contract programme in the department.

During the debriefing processes and during the preparation process for the questionnaire, held over 3 weekend sessions from 13 of January 2006 to 28 of January 2006, the following comments of the team was captured:

(The quotes were not labelled with the name of the person rather with the function the person fulfilled during the processes to ensure the principle of confidentiality.)

"I never truly experienced the impact poverty had on people until interacting with these individuals." (Translator & scribe)

"I admire these young people's courage for speaking so openly and honestly about their lives and the issues affecting it I believe that no child should have to grow up

or experience what these youth have had to deal with in their short lives.” (Translator & scribe)

“The more networked youth shared more freely than the non-networked youth.” (Facilitator)

“The rural youth participated with more eagerness to see programmes developed than the city youth.” (Facilitator)

“Performing my duties as a scribe and translator of the social capital discussion groups from 9 – 13 January 2006, I felt that interacting with the youth came naturally as I am a youth myself.” (Scribe & translator)

“I could feel a lot of energy within the groups but due to the lack of information and structures it limits their full potential as youth in society.” (Facilitator)

For some of the team members it had been their first encounter with rural youth which was an important learning experience for them. In addition, the team composition had an age range from 21 to 45 years. For the older team members the interaction exceeded their expectations in terms of the depth and the level of consciousness of the young team members. It was clear from these quotes that benefits of this research process did not only accrue to the participants but also to the facilitation team.

8.2 ANALYSIS OF THE DISCUSSION GROUP DATA

For the analysis of the discussion groups, it was important to look at the method of data collection and data reporting chosen by the researcher. As mentioned, in the audio recording of the discussion groups had been difficult in some of the venues due to the fact that the facilities were situated in the chosen areas with ill-equipped venues. The chosen areas were all poor communities, thus venues lacked the appropriate resources and technical equipment. The researcher used these venues in order to accommodate the participants in their own environment. The discussion groups were conducted to inform the questionnaire for the quantitative phase of the study. Therefore, the researcher, as previously agreed upon, would only use the newsprints of the concluding sessions which contained the report of the group in terms of language and understanding to give input into the design and questions which were included in the questionnaire. The researcher coded the discussion groups for the purpose of identification of the participant's area of residence and the age cohort.

ANNEXURE H

For full Annexure, open pdf file below:



**Final Thesis -
Annexure H.pdf**

Table 4.15 Effects of Neighbourhood problems by geographical area

Neighbourhood Problems		Geographical area													
		Khayelitsha		Mitchells Plain		Manenberg		Gugulethu		Beaufort West		Oudtshoorn		Total	
		n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)
HIV/AIDS	No Effect	462	(10.4)	1568	(48.7)	144	(28.6)	113	(12.3)	86	(26.9)	76	(17.3)	2449	(24.9)
	Some Effect	1339	(30.1)	808	(25.1)	168	(33.4)	280	(30.5)	85	(26.6)	115	(26.1)	2795	(28.4)
	Big Effect	2648	(59.5)	842	(26.2)	191	(38.0)	525	(57.2)	149	(46.6)	249	(56.6)	4604	(46.8)
	Total	4449	(100.0)	3218	(100.0)	503	(100.0)	918	(100.0)	320	(100.0)	440	(100.0)	9848	(100.0)
Sexual abuse/rape	No Effect	598	(13.4)	1147	(35.2)	103	(20.5)	173	(18.8)	105	(32.8)	66	(15.0)	2192	(22.2)
	Some Effect	1561	(35.1)	1028	(31.5)	136	(27.0)	332	(36.2)	89	(27.8)	155	(35.2)	3301	(33.4)
	Big Effect	2290	(51.5)	1084	(33.3)	264	(52.5)	413	(45.0)	126	(39.4)	219	(49.8)	4396	(44.5)
	Total	4449	(100.0)	3259	(100.0)	503	(100.0)	918	(100.0)	320	(100.0)	440	(100.0)	9889	(100.0)
Domestic violence	No Effect	711	(16.0)	859	(26.2)	100	(19.9)	214	(23.3)	77	(24.1)	87	(19.8)	2048	(20.7)
	Some Effect	1911	(43.0)	1249	(38.1)	159	(31.6)	355	(38.7)	120	(37.5)	195	(44.3)	3989	(40.3)
	Big Effect	1827	(41.1)	1171	(35.7)	244	(48.5)	349	(38.0)	123	(38.4)	158	(35.9)	3872	(39.1)
	Total	4449	(100.0)	3279	(100.0)	503	(100.0)	918	(100.0)	320	(100.0)	440	(100.0)	9909	(100.0)
Lack of safety at school	No Effect	799	(18.0)	749	(22.8)	98	(19.5)	249	(27.1)	152	(47.5)	148	(33.6)	2195	(22.1)
	Some Effect	1552	(34.9)	1253	(38.1)	135	(26.8)	271	(29.5)	99	(30.9)	173	(39.3)	3483	(35.1)
	Big Effect	2097	(47.1)	1289	(39.2)	270	(53.7)	398	(43.4)	69	(21.6)	119	(27.0)	4242	(42.8)
	Total	4448	(100.0)	3291	(100.0)	503	(100.0)	918	(100.0)	320	(100.0)	440	(100.0)	9920	(100.0)
Lack of education	No Effect	771	(17.3)	951	(28.8)	93	(18.5)	336	(36.6)	162	(50.6)	146	(33.2)	2459	(24.8)
	Some Effect	1682	(37.8)	1169	(35.4)	148	(29.4)	247	(26.9)	83	(25.9)	169	(38.4)	3498	(35.2)
	Big Effect	1996	(44.9)	1178	(35.7)	262	(52.1)	335	(36.5)	75	(23.4)	125	(28.4)	3971	(40.0)
	Total	4449	(100.0)	3298	(100.0)	503	(100.0)	918	(100.0)	320	(100.0)	440	(100.0)	9928	(100.0)
Lack of parental support	No Effect	1134	(25.5)	999	(30.3)	95	(18.9)	369	(40.2)	115	(35.9)	129	(29.3)	2841	(28.6)
	Some Effect	1793	(40.3)	1233	(37.4)	161	(32.1)	268	(29.2)	102	(31.9)	172	(39.1)	3729	(37.6)

Table 4-15 Effects of Neighbourhood problems by geographical area

Neighbourhood Problems		Geographical area							
		Khayelitsha	Mitchells Plain	Manenberg	Gugulethu	Beaufort West	Oudtshoorn	Total	
		n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)
Substance abuse	No Effect	333 (7.5)	331 (10.0)	34 (6.8)	53 (5.8)	49 (15.3)	42 (9.5)	842 (8.5)	
	Some Effect	927 (20.8)	751 (22.8)	74 (14.7)	123 (13.4)	82 (25.6)	91 (20.7)	2048 (20.6)	
	Big Effect	3187 (71.7)	2214 (67.2)	394 (78.5)	742 (80.8)	189 (59.1)	307 (69.8)	7033 (70.9)	
	Total	4447 (100.0)	3296 (100.0)	502 (100.0)	918 (100.0)	320 (100.0)	440 (100.0)	9923 (100.0)	
Teenage pregnancy	No Effect	196 (4.4)	416 (12.6)	30 (6.0)	37 (4.0)	37 (11.6)	36 (8.2)	752 (7.6)	
	Some Effect	737 (16.6)	851 (25.8)	64 (12.7)	106 (11.5)	66 (20.6)	55 (12.5)	1879 (18.9)	
	Big Effect	3516 (79.0)	2030 (61.6)	408 (81.3)	775 (84.4)	217 (67.8)	349 (79.3)	7295 (73.5)	
	Total	4449 (100.0)	3297 (100.0)	502 (100.0)	918 (100.0)	320 (100.0)	440 (100.0)	9926 (100.0)	
Violence and crime	No Effect	205 (4.6)	431 (13.1)	35 (7.0)	36 (3.9)	57 (17.8)	35 (8.0)	799 (8.0)	
	Some Effect	805 (18.1)	976 (29.6)	92 (18.3)	130 (14.2)	95 (29.7)	92 (20.9)	2190 (22.1)	
	Big Effect	3439 (77.3)	1894 (57.4)	376 (74.8)	752 (81.9)	168 (52.5)	313 (71.1)	6942 (69.9)	
	Total	4449 (100.0)	3301 (100.0)	503 (100.0)	918 (100.0)	320 (100.0)	440 (100.0)	9931 (100.0)	
Gangsterism	No Effect	591 (13.3)	481 (14.6)	63 (12.5)	61 (6.6)	112 (35.0)	43 (9.8)	1351 (13.6)	
	Some Effect	977 (22.0)	833 (25.2)	77 (15.3)	145 (15.8)	76 (23.8)	70 (15.9)	2178 (21.9)	
	Big Effect	2880 (64.7)	1987 (60.2)	363 (72.2)	712 (77.6)	132 (41.3)	327 (74.3)	6401 (64.5)	
	Total	4448 (100.0)	3301 (100.0)	503 (100.0)	918 (100.0)	320 (100.0)	440 (100.0)	9930 (100.0)	
Poverty and Unemployment	No Effect	121 (2.7)	336 (10.2)	20 (4.0)	28 (3.1)	19 (5.9)	11 (2.5)	535 (5.4)	
	Some Effect	805 (18.1)	1052 (31.9)	97 (19.3)	186 (20.3)	61 (19.1)	64 (14.5)	2265 (22.8)	
	Big Effect	3523 (79.2)	1906 (57.9)	386 (76.7)	704 (76.7)	240 (75.0)	365 (83.0)	7124 (71.8)	
	Total	4449 (100.0)	3294 (100.0)	503 (100.0)	918 (100.0)	320 (100.0)	440 (100.0)	9924 (100.0)	

Table 4.5 Effects of Neighbourhood problems by geographical area

Neighbourhood Problems		Geographical area													
		Khayelitsha		Mitchells Plain		Manenberg		Gugulethu		Beaufort West		Oudtshoorn		Total	
		n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)
Lack of recreational activities	Big Effect	1521	(34.2)	1061	(32.2)	246	(49.0)	281	(30.6)	103	(32.2)	139	(31.6)	3351	(33.8)
	Total	4448	(100.0)	3293	(100.0)	502	(100.0)	918	(100.0)	320	(100.0)	440	(100.0)	9921	(100.0)
	No Effect	693	(15.6)	678	(20.6)	93	(18.5)	204	(22.2)	83	(25.9)	89	(20.2)	1840	(18.5)
	Some Effect	1608	(36.2)	1202	(36.5)	146	(29.0)	333	(36.3)	85	(26.6)	162	(36.8)	3536	(35.6)
Lack of safety and protection	Big Effect	2147	(48.3)	1417	(43.0)	264	(52.5)	381	(41.5)	152	(47.5)	189	(43.0)	4550	(45.8)
	Total	4448	(100.0)	3297	(100.0)	503	(100.0)	918	(100.0)	320	(100.0)	440	(100.0)	9926	(100.0)
	No Effect	520	(11.7)	668	(20.2)	67	(13.3)	113	(12.3)	101	(31.6)	88	(20.0)	1557	(15.7)
	Some Effect	1408	(31.6)	1221	(37.0)	130	(25.8)	248	(27.0)	111	(34.7)	191	(43.4)	3309	(33.3)
Lack of infrastructure	Big Effect	2521	(56.7)	1411	(42.8)	306	(60.8)	557	(60.7)	108	(33.8)	161	(36.6)	5064	(51.0)
	Total	4449	(100.0)	3300	(100.0)	503	(100.0)	918	(100.0)	320	(100.0)	440	(100.0)	9930	(100.0)
	No Effect	913	(20.5)	860	(26.1)	101	(20.2)	203	(22.1)	66	(20.6)	89	(20.2)	2232	(22.5)
	Some Effect	1530	(34.4)	1333	(40.5)	156	(31.1)	306	(33.3)	107	(33.4)	196	(44.5)	3628	(36.6)
Lack of trust of community towards young people	Big Effect	2005	(45.1)	1096	(33.3)	244	(48.7)	409	(44.6)	147	(45.9)	155	(35.2)	4056	(40.9)
	Total	4448	(100.0)	3289	(100.0)	501	(100.0)	918	(100.0)	320	(100.0)	440	(100.0)	9916	(100.0)
	No Effect	520	(11.7)	528	(16.0)	54	(10.8)	82	(8.9)	57	(17.8)	63	(14.3)	1304	(13.1)
	Some Effect	1342	(30.2)	1267	(38.5)	147	(29.3)	226	(24.6)	119	(37.2)	186	(42.3)	3287	(33.1)
Peer group pressure	Big Effect	2587	(58.1)	1500	(45.5)	301	(60.0)	610	(66.4)	144	(45.0)	191	(43.4)	5333	(53.7)
	Total	4449	(100.0)	3295	(100.0)	502	(100.0)	918	(100.0)	320	(100.0)	440	(100.0)	9924	(100.0)
	No Effect	579	(13.0)	617	(18.7)	79	(15.7)	214	(23.3)	89	(27.8)	62	(14.1)	1640	(16.5)
	Some Effect	1438	(32.3)	979	(29.7)	137	(27.2)	212	(23.1)	87	(27.2)	157	(35.7)	3010	(30.3)
Total	Big Effect	2432	(54.7)	1702	(51.6)	287	(57.1)	492	(53.6)	144	(45.0)	221	(50.2)	5278	(53.2)
	Total	4449	(100.0)	3298	(100.0)	503	(100.0)	918	(100.0)	320	(100.0)	440	(100.0)	9928	(100.0)

Table 4.16

Question Items		Nodal areas		
		Khayelitsha (N = 4449)	Mitchells Plain (N = 3302)	Beaufort West (N = 320)
		<i>n</i> (%)	<i>n</i> (%)	<i>n</i> (%)
Offer your help or time to help people other than your family	No, never	152 (3.4)	331 (10.0)	25 (7.8)
	No, but would if I had a chance	374 (8.4)	258 (7.8)	13 (4.1)
	Yes, but only if I know the person	620 (13.9)	570 (17.3)	92 (28.8)
	Yes, in general	3303 (74.2)	2143 (64.9)	190 (59.4)
Get up in the bus/train and offer your seat if an older person enters	No, never	298 (6.7)	303 (9.2)	23 (7.2)
	No, but would if I had a chance	209 (4.7)	229 (6.9)	9 (2.8)
	Yes, but only if I know the person	596 (13.4)	210 (6.4)	62 (19.4)
	Yes, in general	3346 (75.2)	2560 (77.5)	226 (70.6)
Look after your neighbours children if they need somebody to help out	No, never	253 (5.7)	606 (18.4)	51 (15.9)
	No, but would if I had a chance	627 (14.1)	396 (12.0)	25 (7.8)
	Yes, but only if I know the person	924 (20.8)	601 (18.2)	82 (25.6)
	Yes, in general	2645 (59.5)	1699 (51.5)	162 (50.6)
Help out If one of your neighbours has a flat tyre	No, never	449 (10.1)	365 (11.1)	38 (11.9)
	No, but would if I had a chance	715 (16.1)	332 (10.1)	42 (13.1)
	Yes, but only if I know the person	1014 (22.8)	565 (17.1)	77 (24.1)
	Yes, in general	2271 (51.0)	2040 (61.8)	163 (50.9)
Join in if there is a cultural celebration in your community	No, never	1017 (22.9)	717 (21.7)	103 (32.2)
	No, but would if I had a chance	763 (17.1)	435 (13.2)	27 (8.4)
	Yes, but only if I know the person	862 (19.4)	500 (15.1)	32 (10.0)
	Yes, in general	1807 (40.6)	1650 (50.0)	158 (49.4)
If you had a car would you give somebody from your community a lift if they needed one	No, never	331 (7.4)	118 (3.6)	12 (3.8)
	No, but would if I had a chance	344 (7.7)	122 (3.7)	15 (4.7)
	Yes, but only if I know the person	1860 (41.8)	778 (23.6)	114 (35.6)
	Yes, in general	1914 (43.0)	2284 (69.2)	179 (55.9)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages

Source: Survey data

Table 4 16

Question Items		Non-nodal areas		
		Manenberg (N = 503)	Gugulethu (N = 918)	Oudtshoorn (N = 440)
		<i>n</i> (%)	<i>n</i> (%)	<i>n</i> (%)
Offer your help or time to help people other than your family	No, never	52 (10.3)	30 (3.3)	32 (7.3)
	No, but would if I had a chance	31 (6.2)	40 (4.4)	36 (8.2)
	Yes, but only if I know the person	117 (23.3)	148 (16.1)	98 (22.3)
	Yes, in general	303 (60.2)	700 (76.3)	274 (62.3)
Get up in the bus/train and offer your seat if an older person enters	No, never	48 (9.5)	87 (9.5)	43 (9.8)
	No, but would if I had a chance	27 (5.4)	34 (3.7)	15 (3.4)
	Yes, but only if I know the person	31 (6.2)	104 (11.3)	72 (16.4)
	Yes, in general	397 (78.9)	693 (75.5)	310 (70.5)
Look after your neighbours children if they need somebody to help out	No, never	136 (27.0)	148 (16.1)	74 (16.8)
	No, but would if I had a chance	29 (5.8)	125 (13.6)	43 (9.8)
	Yes, but only if I know the person	76 (15.1)	254 (27.7)	98 (22.3)
	Yes, in general	262 (52.1)	391 (42.6)	225 (51.1)
Help out If one of your neighbours has a flat tyre	No, never	71 (14.1)	92 (10.0)	51 (11.6)
	No, but would if I had a chance	27 (5.4)	120 (13.1)	58 (13.2)
	Yes, but only if I know the person	77 (15.3)	277 (30.2)	101 (23.0)
	Yes, in general	328 (65.2)	429 (46.7)	230 (52.3)
Join in if there is a cultural celebration in your community	No, never	155 (30.8)	245 (26.7)	121 (27.5)
	No, but would if I had a chance	29 (5.8)	96 (10.5)	46 (10.5)
	Yes, but only if I know the person	58 (11.5)	274 (29.8)	67 (15.2)
	Yes, in general	261 (51.9)	303 (33.0)	206 (46.8)
If you had a car would you give somebody from your community a lift if they needed one	No, never	23 (4.6)	65 (7.1)	14 (3.2)
	No, but would if I had a chance	8 (1.6)	63 (6.9)	11 (2.5)
	Yes, but only if I know the person	134 (26.6)	386 (42.0)	154 (35.0)
	Yes, in general	338 (67.2)	404 (44.0)	261 (59.3)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages

Source: Survey data

Table Q15 Looked for work in the past month by gender

Looked for work in the past month	Female (n = 6048)	Male (n = 3884)	Total (N = 9932)
	f. (%)	f. (%)	f. (%)
No	4276 (70.7)	2846 (73.3)	7122 (71.7)
Yes	1772 (29.3)	1038 (26.7)	2810 (28.3)

Note: $\chi^2 = 7.723$, $df = 1$. $p < .05$. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

Table .

Q35

Question Items		Geographic area		Total
		Nodal (N=8071)	Non-nodal (N=1861)	
		<i>n</i> (%)	<i>n</i> (%)	
Health	Poor/Very Poor	840 (10.4)	262 (14.1)	1102 (11.1)
	Average/No Experience	2275 (28.2)	471 (25.3)	2746 (27.6)
	Good/Very Good	4956 (61.4)	1128 (60.6)	6084 (61.3)
Social Services	Poor/Very Poor	370 (4.6)	105 (5.6)	475 (4.8)
	Average/No Experience	2193 (27.2)	399 (21.4)	2592 (26.1)
	Good/Very Good	5508 (68.2)	1357 (72.9)	6865 (69.1)
Education	Poor/Very Poor	366 (4.5)	92 (4.9)	458 (4.6)
	Average/No Experience	1674 (20.7)	285 (15.3)	1959 (19.7)
	Good/Very Good	6031 (74.7)	1484 (79.7)	7515 (75.7)
Justice	Poor/Very Poor	1173 (14.5)	278 (14.9)	1451 (14.6)
	Average/No Experience	3307 (41.0)	761 (40.9)	4068 (41.0)
	Good/Very Good	3591 (44.5)	822 (44.2)	4413 (44.4)
Home Affairs	Poor/Very Poor	711 (8.8)	209 (11.2)	920 (9.3)
	Average/No Experience	2968 (36.8)	590 (31.7)	3558 (35.8)
	Good/Very Good	4392 (54.4)	1062 (57.1)	5454 (54.9)
Police	Poor/Very Poor	2274 (28.2)	641 (34.4)	2915 (29.3)
	Average/No Experience	2742 (34.0)	610 (32.8)	3352 (33.7)
	Good/Very Good	3055 (37.9)	610 (32.8)	3665 (36.9)
Sports & Culture	Poor/Very Poor	1149 (14.2)	352 (18.9)	1501 (15.1)
	Average/No Experience	3276 (40.6)	709 (38.1)	3985 (40.1)
	Good/Very Good	3646 (45.2)	800 (43.0)	4446 (44.8)
Community Safety	Poor/Very Poor	2049 (25.4)	583 (31.3)	2632 (26.5)
	Average/No Experience	3243 (40.2)	737 (39.6)	3980 (40.1)
	Good/Very Good	2779 (34.4)	541 (29.1)	3320 (33.4)
Local government & Housing	Poor/Very Poor	2400 (29.7)	726 (39.0)	3126 (31.5)
	Average/No Experience	3344 (41.4)	664 (35.7)	4008 (40.4)
	Good/Very Good	2327 (28.8)	471 (25.3)	2798 (28.2)
Environmental Affairs	Poor/Very Poor	1372 (17.0)	427 (22.9)	1799 (18.1)
	Average/No Experience	4533 (56.2)	989 (53.1)	5522 (55.6)
	Good/Very Good	2166 (26.8)	445 (23.9)	2611 (26.3)
Land Affairs	Poor/Very Poor	1345 (16.7)	407 (21.9)	1752 (17.6)
	Average/No Experience	4645 (57.6)	1059 (56.9)	5704 (57.4)
	Good/Very Good	2081 (25.8)	395 (21.2)	2476 (24.9)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

Table . 035 Non-nodal Areas

Question Items		Non-nodal areas		
		Manenberg (N= 503)	Gugulethu (N= 918)	Oudshoorn (N=440)
		<i>n</i> (%)	<i>n</i> (%)	<i>n</i> (%)
Health	Poor/Very Poor	92 (18.3)	115 (12.5)	55 (12.5)
	Average/No Experience	155 (30.8)	220 (24.0)	96 (21.8)
	Good/Very Good	256 (50.9)	583 (63.5)	289 (65.7)
Social Services	Poor/Very Poor	52 (10.3)	37 (4.0)	16 (3.6)
	Average/No Experience	181 (36.0)	130 (14.2)	88 (20.0)
	Good/Very Good	270 (53.7)	751 (81.8)	336 (76.4)
Education	Poor/Very Poor	53 (10.5)	19 (2.1)	20 (4.5)
	Average/No Experience	126 (25.0)	98 (10.7)	61 (13.9)
	Good/Very Good	324 (64.4)	801 (87.3)	359 (81.6)
Justice	Poor/Very Poor	118 (23.5)	117 (12.7)	43 (9.8)
	Average/No Experience	216 (42.9)	366 (39.9)	179 (40.7)
	Good/Very Good	169 (33.6)	435 (47.4)	218 (49.5)
Home Affairs	Poor/Very Poor	85 (16.9)	99 (10.8)	25 (5.7)
	Average/No Experience	195 (38.8)	236 (25.7)	159 (36.1)
	Good/Very Good	223 (44.3)	583 (63.5)	256 (58.2)
Police	Poor/Very Poor	152 (30.2)	380 (41.4)	109 (24.8)
	Average/No Experience	179 (35.6)	280 (30.5)	151 (34.3)
	Good/Very Good	172 (34.2)	258 (28.1)	180 (40.9)
Sports & Culture	Poor/Very Poor	94 (18.7)	158 (17.2)	100 (22.7)
	Average/No Experience	189 (37.6)	347 (37.8)	173 (39.3)
	Good/Very Good	220 (43.7)	413 (45.0)	167 (38.0)
Community Safety	Poor/Very Poor	163 (32.4)	314 (34.2)	106 (24.1)
	Average/No Experience	205 (40.8)	338 (36.8)	194 (44.1)
	Good/Very Good	135 (26.8)	266 (29.0)	140 (31.8)
Local government & Housing	Poor/Very Poor	181 (36.0)	413 (45.0)	132 (30.0)
	Average/No Experience	195 (38.8)	289 (31.5)	180 (40.9)
	Good/Very Good	127 (25.2)	216 (23.5)	128 (29.1)
Environmental Affairs	Poor/Very Poor	120 (23.9)	227 (24.7)	80 (18.2)
	Average/No Experience	254 (50.5)	494 (53.8)	241 (54.8)
	Good/Very Good	129 (25.6)	197 (21.5)	119 (27.0)
Land Affairs	Poor/Very Poor	108 (21.5)	215 (23.4)	84 (19.1)
	Average/No Experience	280 (55.7)	525 (57.2)	254 (57.7)
	Good/Very Good	115 (22.9)	178 (19.4)	102 (23.2)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data

Table Q 35 Nodal Areas

Question Items		Nodal Areas		
		Khayelitsha (N = 4449)	Mitchell's Plain (N = 3302)	Beaufort West (N = 320)
		<i>n (%)</i>	<i>n (%)</i>	<i>n (%)</i>
Health	Poor/Very Poor	442 (9.9)	373 (11.3)	25 (7.8)
	Average/No Experience	920 (20.7)	1273 (38.6)	82 (25.6)
	Good/Very Good	3087 (69.4)	1656 (50.2)	213 (66.6)
Social Services	Poor/Very Poor	167 (3.8)	191 (5.8)	12 (3.8)
	Average/No Experience	792 (17.8)	1323 (40.1)	78 (24.4)
	Good/Very Good	3490 (78.4)	1788 (54.1)	230 (71.9)
Education	Poor/Very Poor	136 (3.1)	217 (6.6)	13 (4.1)
	Average/No Experience	617 (13.9)	1019 (30.9)	38 (11.9)
	Good/Very Good	3696 (83.1)	2066 (62.6)	269 (84.1)
Justice	Poor/Very Poor	396 (8.9)	748 (22.7)	29 (9.1)
	Average/No Experience	1513 (34.0)	1668 (50.5)	126 (39.4)
	Good/Very Good	2540 (57.1)	886 (26.8)	165 (51.6)
Home Affairs	Poor/Very Poor	320 (7.2)	376 (11.4)	15 (4.7)
	Average/No Experience	1100 (24.7)	1768 (53.5)	100 (31.3)
	Good/Very Good	3029 (68.1)	1158 (35.1)	205 (64.1)
Police	Poor/Very Poor	1365 (30.7)	834 (25.3)	75 (23.4)
	Average/No Experience	1177 (26.5)	1454 (44.0)	111 (34.7)
	Good/Very Good	1907 (42.9)	1014 (30.7)	134 (41.9)
Sports & Culture	Poor/Very Poor	654 (14.7)	463 (14.0)	32 (10.0)
	Average/No Experience	1666 (37.4)	1503 (45.5)	107 (33.4)
	Good/Very Good	2129 (47.9)	1336 (40.5)	181 (56.6)
Community Safety	Poor/Very Poor	1237 (27.8)	765 (23.2)	47 (14.7)
	Average/No Experience	1484 (33.4)	1622 (49.1)	137 (42.8)
	Good/Very Good	1728 (38.8)	915 (27.7)	136 (42.5)
Local government & Housing	Poor/Very Poor	1487 (33.4)	839 (25.4)	74 (23.1)
	Average/No Experience	1416 (31.8)	1795 (54.4)	133 (41.6)
	Good/Very Good	1546 (34.7)	668 (20.2)	113 (35.3)
Environmental Affairs	Poor/Very Poor	689 (15.5)	626 (19.0)	57 (17.8)
	Average/No Experience	2373 (53.3)	2005 (60.7)	155 (48.4)
	Good/Very Good	1387 (31.2)	671 (20.3)	108 (33.8)
Land Affairs	Poor/Very Poor	698 (15.7)	599 (18.1)	48 (15.0)
	Average/No Experience	2404 (54.0)	2075 (62.8)	166 (51.9)
	Good/Very Good	1347 (30.3)	628 (19.0)	106 (33.1)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Source: Survey data